A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE DESCENT of the ROMANS, TO THE DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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The great Seal of William the Conqueror

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

THE

History of ENGLAND.

The History of WILLIAM the Conqueror, *continued.*

EDWIN had been amuſed by William with the promiſe of marriage to one of his daughters, but found that the Normans had prevailed on him to break it; beſides this, he ſaw that the king entertained ſuch ſuſpicions of his fidelity, as it was impoſſible for him to obviate; and he could not but reſent his carrying him over with him into Normandy, as an ornamental trophy of his triumph. His bro-

ther Morcar, who laboured under the ſame ſuſpicions as himſelf, was eaſily prevailed upon to join him in ſuch meaſures, as ſeemed to have a tendency towards vindicating their honour. If honour, if reſentment, if revenge operated thus powerfully in their boſoms, they were ſtill further ſtimulated by apprehenſions, that they were on the verge of ruin, and that the conqueror waited only for ſome plauſible pretext to involve them in the fate of their countrymen. Though Edwin was angry, he was not raſh; before he declared he was reſolved to concert ſuch meaſures as might render his ſucceſs probable, if not certain. Though his own power and intereſt were great in England; though he was ſure of aſſiſtance from Blethwyn his nephew, at that time prince of Wales; tho' he had ſollicited the inhabitants to riſe in different parts of the kingdom; yet he declined an open rupture, till ſuch time as he had negociated for ſuccours with Swein king of Denmark, and had actually received aſſurances from Malcolm king of the Scots. After having taken theſe precautions, Edwin and his brother appeared at the head of an army, and were joined by Edwin's nephew Blethwyn.

William having, through an affectation of confidence, placed no garriſons in the governments of theſe two earls, found himſelf under a neceſſity of marching againſt them

them in perſon. To ſecure the country as he advanced, he built two caſtles, one at Warwick and the other at Nottingham. The former of which was ſupplied with a ſtrong garriſon, commanded by * Henry of Newbury, ſon of Roger de Beaumont, count of Meulant: and the caſtle of Nottingham was given to William Pendell, or de Peverell.

Morcar and Edwin, not receiving any benefit from the inſurrections which they had excited in different parts of the kingdom, which were made in parties too ſmall to occaſion a diverſion, or to cut out work for the king's forces; being likewiſe diſappointed of the Scottiſh and Daniſh forces, whoſe junction had been the chief motive to their appearing in the field, having likewiſe ſome apprehenſion that they ſhould be abandoned by their men, who deſerted in conſiderable numbers every day, they thought it would be the beſt way to ſubmit as ſoon as poſſible, and, though they could not have expected it, obtained the king's mercy. Though this ſtep of the earl's entirely ſuppreſſed the rebellion, and induced others to imitate their example, William ſtill continued his march towards York. The citizens being unable

* He was brother to Roger de Bellomonte, ſon of Humphry de Vetulis, ſon of Turolf of Pont Adomar, by Weva. He was called Henry of Newburgh, from a caſtle in Normandy, where he was born, and was made Earl of Warwick after the Survey.

to sustain the whole force of the war by themselves, prudently made their submission by sending the keys. Though William was inclined to forgive them, yet he obliged them to pay him a large sum of money, by way of punishment; and, in order to keep a check upon them for the future, built * two castles in the city, which he garrisoned with five hundred men.

About this time † Archillus, the most powerful nobleman in Northumberland, made his peace, on condition of his giving his son as an hostage and security for his future fidelity. Egelwin, bishop of Durham, obtained a pardon both for himself and his city. Having made such good terms for himself, he undertook to be mediator for Malcolm king of Scotland; who had levied an army, at the request of the English earls, and was on his march to join them. The overtures of peace met this monarch in his rout,

* Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden mention two castles; but Brady, Rapin, Carte, and other modern authors, only one.

† This nobleman, named Archil, Arkil, or Archillus, married Sigrid the daughter of Efrid, the daughter of Aldun bishop of Durham, by Kylvert her second husband; her first husband was Uchtred earl of Northumberland, by whom she was repudiated. This Archil had some part of Northumberland that was waste, and inhabited it; by Sigred he had a son named Gospatric, and he another of that name, afterwards earl of Northumberland.

rout, and, proving agreeable, he ſent his embaſſadors to do homage to William for the crown of Cumberland, and to acknowledge his title to the crown of England.

William having thus quieted the north, in his return built the caſtles of Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, for the ſecurity of the neighbouring counties.

This expedient was at this time the more neceſſary, as Hereward le Wake, ſon of Leofric, lord of Brunne in Norfolk, who had been ſome years abſent in foreign countries, finding his patrimonial eſtates ſeized on by the Normans, ſlew the invaders and ravaged all the adjacent parts in the fury of revenge.

Theſe emotions, and the march of William into the north, encouraged Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, the ſons of Harold, to return from Ireland. They landed in Somerſetſhire, where they engaged with Eadnoth, who had formerly been maſter of the horſe to their father, routed his forces, and ſlew him in the field. This victory not only left the country expoſed to their inroads, but likewiſe might have encouraged the natives to join them; but they continuing conſtant to their principles, Harold's ſons contented themſelves with ravaging the provinces of Devon and Cornwall, and returned home with no inconſiderable booty.

Theſe

These commotions succeeding one another so closely, could not but confirm William's suspicions of the implacable hatred, unconquerable levity, and unsurmountable prejudices of the English. Tired with shewing them mercy, which only encouraged their revolts, or rather taking off the mark of dissembled clemency, he behaved not only with greater circumspection, but likewise with the most rigorous severity. Great numbers of persons were, by his orders, confined in prison, who were no ways concerned in the late disturbances; the principle of his conduct being not only to punish the guilty, but likewise to prevent those, whom he supected, from giving any disturbance. The imprisonment of several persons, on account of the king's jealousies, struck terror throughout the kingdom, and induced several, who thought themselves exposed, to prevent their fate by going into a voluntary exile. Gospatric and Merleswein, two powerful noblemen in the north, filled with apprehensions for their own safety, were resolved to save themselves by retiring into the north; and having a warm affection for Edgar Atheling, persuaded him to accompany them to Scotland, together with his mother Agatha and his sisters Margaret and Christina. Malcolm Canmore, the king of Scotland, melted with the misfortunes of the fugitive prince, not only treated him with all the respect due to his

his birth, but likewiſe married his eldeſt * ſiſter. The generous hoſpitality with which Malcolm treated theſe noble perſons, drew ſeveral others into his dominions, among which were Merter, Welthers, ſeveral biſhops, and other perſons of diſtinction. Such of the malecontented as did not chooſe to leave the country, retired into the woods, where they were concealed from thoſe who were ſent to apprehend them; and would frequently ſally out from their faſtneſſes, and annoy the Normans who were in poſſeſſion of their eſtates.

The flight of ſo many great perſonages into Scotland, plainly diſcovered how the Engliſh were in general affected; and tho' their abſence might in ſome meaſure have leſſened William's apprehenſions, yet it incited him to take every precaution againſt the effects of their reſentment. The meaſures he took for this purpoſe, were not leſs grievous than effectual, were not leſs provoking to the Engliſh than ſecure for himſelf. In the firſt place he diſarmed all the natives, and in the ſecond ordered them to put out the fire and lights in their houſes, at the ſound of a bell, after eight in the evening; which from that circumſtance was called

* From this alliance ſprung Mathilda, or Maud, grandmother to Henry II. in whom the Saxon and Norman families were united.

led the * Curfew Bell, from *Couvrer feu* in the French. This bell, as a judicious hiſtorian obſerves, put the Engliſh daily in mind of their ſlavery, and was in reality nothing leſs than the knell of their expiring liberty.

While theſe meaſures were taking by William, the Engliſh fugitives in Scotland were preparing meaſures to ſtrike ſome blow which might redreſs their grievances, and recover their liberties. The Engliſh ſettled in Scotland, ſtill kept up a ſecret correſpondence with the malecontents in England, and gave them encouragement to expect ſome aſſiſtance from thoſe parts. Others who had retired to Denmark, ſtrongly ſollicited Swein II. to join them with a body of troops; and as this monarch had ſome pretenſions to the Engliſh crown, he was eaſily brought to conſent to their requeſts. At the ſame inſtant, other fugitives made ſtrong efforts to perſuade the Iriſh to enter into their views; and had all theſe parties

* The tranſlator of Rapin, in his notes, objects to the "reality of this circumſtance, as not occurring in "any ancient author: Polydore Virgil being the firſt "perſon who mentions it. A paſſage in W. Malmeſ-"bury, which ſeems to countenance this notion, men-"tions only that *Henry* I. *reſtored the uſe of lights in "his court at night, which had been left off in his bro-"ther Rufus's time.* But, ſays our author, is this any "thing like a *Curfew?*"

parties united in one common intereſt, and made their attack at the ſame time, it would have inevitably ended in the overthrow of the Norman government.

William could not but be appriſed of theſe meaſures, on account of the numbers that were embarked in the confederacy, and, in order to prevent them from taking effect, thought it expedient to guard againſt the Northumbrians, who were naturally a turbulent, reſtleſs, and ambitious people. Robert de Cumin was on this occaſion appointed governor of the county of Durham, and detached with ſeven hundred men to take poſſeſſion of his government, and be a check upon the meaſures of the malecontents. As this commander drew near to the city, biſhop Agelnoth went out to meet him, and kindly adviſed him to be on his guard, for fear of any inſurrection from the inhabitants. The biſhop, who was well acquainted with the diſpoſitions, the grievances, and the ſecret meaſures of the citizens, had not given this caution without grounds for doing ſo. But Robert, too proud to be taught, and too raſh to be intimidated, ſlighted the biſhop's counſel, permitted his men to range about the city in ſmall parties, to be guilty of the moſt horrid exceſſes, and to ravage the adjacent country without mercy. The Northumbrians, highly incenſed at theſe outrages, and no longer able to reſtrain their fury,

fury, broke into the city by day-break, ſlew all the Normans they met with, attacked the biſhop's palace wherein Robert de Cumin was lodged; and, being unable to force it, ſet fire to the gates, and conſumed all that were within. The town being thus a ſcene of general bloodſhed, ruin, and conflagration, the ſlaughter committed by the male-contents was ſo ſavage, that ſcarce a ſingle man eſcaped out of the ſeven hundred which the governor had brought with him.

The citizens of York, encouraged and animated by the ſucceſs of their neighbours, fell upon Robert Fitzoſborn their governor, and ſlew him together with a great part of his garriſon. The noblemen in theſe parts declaring in favour of the rebels, they undertook the ſiege of the caſtle, of which William Malet was then governor. He was a gallant and brave officer, and defended the place with great intrepidity againſt the enemy; but finding it impoſſible for him to hold out long, ſent to the king for immediate ſuccour. As ſoon as ever William received this intelligence, he put his forces in motion, and marched with ſo much expedition that the beſiegers had no notice of his approach, 'till he had arrived within ſight of their works. An engagement enſuing, the beſiegers were routed with great ſlaughter, William being ſo much incenſed that he would grant quarter to no one during the battle,

battle. After ſtaying here a week to erect another fortreſs, in which he left a garriſon, he marched to Wincheſter to keep his eaſter: yet no ſooner was his back turned, than the enemy made an attack upon both the caſtles, but were repulſed with great bravery.

Theſe commotions ſeemed to have filled William with ſome apprehenſions, as may be gathered from his ſending his wife Maude to Normandy, as a place of greater ſecurity. The panic which affected the monarch, ſeemed to be no leſs predominant in his attendants, who were preparing to quit the iſland, and leave him in the greateſt extremities. The moſt conſiderable noblemen, who left the kingdom at this juncture, were Hugh de Grementſeil and Humphry de Tilleul, the governors of Wincheſter and Haſtings. The reaſon aſſigned for their departure, was the uneaſineſs of their wives in their abſence, who were reported to have ſent them word, that, if they did not return ſoon, they ſhould be obliged to get them new huſbands. William endeavoured in vain to diſſuade them from theſe meaſures, by promiſes of lands; but their affection and their fears getting the better of their avarice, they rejected the king's offers, and ſo incenſed him by their departure, that, in their abſence, he confiſcated their eſtates, and never could be prevailed on by their heirs to reſtore them.

The negociations of the Engliſh male-contents, now began to have their effects; but as they appeared gradually, were gradually fruſtrated. * The firſt attack was made by the ſons of the late king Harold, who came with a fleet of ſixty-five ſail from Ireland; and landing near Exeter, in the north of Devonſhire, plundered and burnt the country; but being defeated twice in one day by Brien, ſon of Eudo, count of Bretagne, after the loſs of † ſeventeen hundred men, and ſome of the principal nobility of Ireland, they were obliged to reimbark and ſteal away by night.

About this time the Daniſh fleet, conſiſting ‡ of two hundred and forty ſail, appeared off the eaſtern coaſt of England. This formidable armament was commanded by Oſborn the Daniſh king's brother-in-law, and had his ſons Harold and Canute on board; beſides whom were earl Turkill and Chriſtian their biſhop. Their intention was no leſs than the reduction of the whole kingdom; and the preparations they had made, were proportionable to their deſign. They

* June, A. D. 1069.

† Dr. Campbell ſays they loſt only *ſeven hundred* men.

‡ Some copies of the Saxon chronicles make them three hundred ſail. This deſcent was poſterior to that of Harold's ſons, as it happened in Auguſt, A. D. 1069, though a learned author has placed it firſt.

They made their firſt deſcent at Dover and Sandwich, but met with a repulſe in both places. After this check they landed again at Ipſwich in Suffolk, and ravaged the country; but being worſted in ſeveral engagements, and particularly near Norwich, were obliged once more to re-imbark. Not daunted with theſe checks, they made a freſh attempt in Lincolnſhire; but there met with the ſame miſchance as they had before in other places. The wind ſtill continuing favourable, they arrived ſafely in the mouth of the Humber, and, having landed their forces, were joined by Edgar Atheling, Goſpatric, the famous earl Waltheof, and * other perſons of diſtinction, with a large body of forces. As they paſſed up the river, they continually received † reinforcements. With this army they advanced to form the ſiege of York, which city was ſtrongly fortified, and was commanded by Mallet, who was determined to make an obſtinate defence. Aldred, the archbiſhop, was ſo much concerned at the danger with which the city was threatened, that it is ſuppoſed to have put an end to his life. To deprive the Danes from making any lodgment in the

* To theſe we may add Merleſwein, Adelin, and Siward Bearn.

† Commanded by Gaius, Marcus and Archil, and raiſed in Northumberland and Yorkſhire.

ſuburbs, Mallet ordered them to be ſet on fire. But the wind being very high, the flames communicated to the city, and burnt part of it before they could be extinguiſhed. The Danes taking advantage of the confuſion occaſioned by this accident, forced their way into the city, and attacked the caſtles with ſo much fury that they carried them both; put three thouſand Normans to the ſword; and ſpared none but Mallet the governor, his wife and two children, Gilbert de Grand, and a few others of the prime nobility. The priſoners and booty were embarked on board the Daniſh fleet, Waltheof, ſon of the celebrated Siward, was left with a ſtrong garriſon at York, and the main body of the Danes marched towards London.

The king was not a little embarraſſed when he heard of theſe tranſactions, nor could he at firſt determine what ſteps to take. If he quitted the heart of the kingdom, he knew that the reſt of the male-contents would be animated at his abſence, and appear in the field; if he neglected the affairs of the north, he was apprehenſive they might be attended by dangerous conſequences. In this embarraſſment, he reſolved to pacify the Engliſh by ſome popular acts; and for this purpoſe, recalled ſome of them from exile, ſet others at liberty, and pretended

country, and roved about in a negligent manner, from a perſuaſion that it was deſtitute of defence.

The king, in the mean time, continued his march towards York with a conſiderable army, intending to prevent the Danes from taking up their winter quarters in that city. As he advanced, he waſted and ſpoiled all the northern countries which he imagined were inclinable to favour the deſigns of the enemy. When he came to Pontefract, he halted for three weeks; becauſe the enemy had broken down all the bridges, and the river appeared to him impaſſable. But Liſois, one of the king's officers, having diſcovered a fordable place, the whole army paſſed over. From hence the king took his rout through a difficult and woody country.*

The Danes, informed of his approach, had taken poſſeſſion of a ſtrong poſt between the Trent and the Ouſe, from whence it would be extremely difficult to diſlodge them. William, not daring to attack them in

* In his march, he went a little out of his way, to reduce Oxford, which had revolted. From thence he marched by the way of Nottingham to Yorkſhire, and, according to *Ord. Vitalis*, and *Matt. Paris*, p. 4, 5, ſlew the greateſt part of the people, laid the country waſte, and, engaging the enemy at York, put the ſtrongeſt to flight, and deſtroyed all the reſt with the ſword.

in ſo advantagious a ſituation, and fearing the conſequence of a battle, undertook to bribe Oſborn the Daniſh general. For this purpoſe, he ſent ſome of his emiſſaries to offer him a large ſum of money, and to give him leave to make what he could of the plunder of the country, on condition that he ſhould quit the iſland as ſoon as the winter was expired. Theſe terms proving agreeable to Oſborn, who was a man of greater avarice than honeſty, he embraced them very willingly, and, in the ſpring, retired to Denmark. But Swain, being informed that his hopes were fruſtrated rather by the covetouſneſs and perfidy of his brother than the valour of the Normans, ſent him into exile.

The malecontents thus left to themſelves, and deprived of every ſuccour that could create a diverſion, were in no condition to keep the field againſt an army of veterans, commanded by a prince who had paſſed moſt of his days in war. As William approached they retreated, but at laſt made a ſtand at York, which place they defended with great obſtinacy and bravery. The king made ſeveral attempts to take this city by ſtorm, but found himſelf diſappointed. In one of the aſſaults a breach was made, which was ſo well defended by the brave Waltheof, that it was not in the power of the Normans to force it. With a battle-ax in his hands, the noble earl cleft down the aſſailants as faſt as they

tended to reſtrain the inſolence of the * Normans.

As his fears abated, his fury became predominant; and he was ſo highly incenſed againſt the Northumbrians, that he ſwore, by GOD'S glory or ſplendour, that he would not leave one of them alive.

With this diſpoſition he put himſelf at the head of his army, and marched with the greateſt expedition towards the north.

What he had been apprehenſive of before his departure, happened in his abſence. The malecontents ſeized the opportunity of riſing, while he was engaged in a more remote part of the iſland. On this occaſion the inhabitants of Somerſet and Devonſhire took up arms, and laid ſiege to Montacute; but were defeated by Geffrey, biſhop of Coutances, at the head of the Londoners, Hants and Wiltſhiremen.

Edric, the forreſter, being joined by a body of men from Wales and Cheſhire, inveſted Shrewſbury, but was obliged to draw off his forces on account of the impregnable ſtrength of the place. William Fitzoſborn, and earl Brient, advanced to the relief of the town; but finding the ſiege raiſed,

* Tyrrel aſſerts that William at this time convened the nobility, in order to confirm the laws of the country. See *Tyrrel's hiſt.* vol. ii. p. 27. *Hoveden.* p. 601.

inſtead of attacking Edric in his retreat, marched to the ſuccour of Exeter, which was at that time cloſely beſieged by the inhabitants of Devon and Cornwal. Before they came up to the place, they found this ſiege likewiſe raiſed by the bravery and fidelity of the citizens; who had put the enemy to flight in a ſally, and diſperſed their forces with incredible ſlaughter.

Hereward, a chieftain remarkable for his bodily ſtrength, his intrepidity, and his enterpriſing genius, took Turold, abbot of Peterborough, priſoner, and cut all his forces in pieces; but being unable to collect any great number of men together, was obliged to content himſelf with harraſſing the Normans in the county of the Eaſt Angles, in the ſhires bordering on the ſame, and the iſle of Ely, where he placed his head quarters.

Theſe petty inſurrections ſerved only to rivet the Norman chains, which they were intended to break; they exhauſted the country of men and commanders, and, in proportion as they diminiſhed the ſtrength and vigour of the natives, increaſed the power and the inſolence of the conqueror.

William, in his march, defeated one of theſe ſmall bodies of malecontents at Stafford. The counts of Mortain and St. Eu, entruſted with the care of Lindſey, cut off a a party of Danes who had landed in that country,

they advanced, and maintained his poſt againſt the united force of the enemy. The vigilance, conduct, and intrepidity of this brave governor, was ſuch that William began to deſpair of making himſelf maſter of the place by vigorous meaſures; he therefore turned the ſiege into a blockade, and reduced it by famine.

William was ſo much charmed with the gallant behaviour of Waltheof, that he not only confirmed him in the poſſeſſions of Northampton and Huntingdon, but likewiſe gave him other lands, and afterwards beſtowed his own niece Judith upon him in marriage.

When the fortifications of York were repaired, and ſome fortreſſes were erected on the Humber, William ſtrengthened them with garriſons, and advanced into the country between the Teeſe and the Tyne. This country wore the face of a deſart, all the inhabitants having either fled away through the woods, or retired for ſafety into the mountains.

Egelwin, the biſhop of Durham, fearing the indignation and rapacity of the conqueror, retreated with the reſt of his brethren, and the chief nobility, to * Landisfarne, taking

* According to Hemingford, as ſoon as theſe devout gentry came to the ſea-ſide, it was ſo complaiſant to the remains of the ſaint, that it dried up to give them a paſſage

taking with him the ſhrine of St. Cuthbert; ſo that when the king came to Durham, he found none but poor, old, and infirm people in the city. The ſituation of this place ſeeming very proper to prevent future inſurrections, he built a ſtrong caſtle for its defence; and, while it was erecting, received Goſpatric into his favour, who came to him in order to make his ſubmiſſion.

Form hence he took his route to Hexham, through roads ſcarce paſſable on account of mire, and over hills covered with very deep ſnow. Many of his horſes died by the way of fatigue; his troops ſuffered greatly in their march; and William himſelf, through the miſtakes of his guides, was loſt, in the night-time, with ſix perſons only in his company.

Theſe

a paſſage to the iſle of Landisfarne. But as monkiſh miracles are beſt related in the author's own words, the reader will excuſe the trouble of ſeeing them authenticated from the original. "Dunelmenſis autem "epiſcopus Egelwinus et optimates cæteri timentes re-"gem, ne et ipſi cum cæteris morti traderentur, aſ-"ſumentes ſecum corpus beati Cuthberti integrum fu-"gerunt in *Clyveland*; ad quorum introitum *retraxit* "*ſe mare*, quod erat tunc plenum, et ipſis ferentibus "ſacratiſſimum corpus cum toto comitatu, eodem fic-"cum præbuit iter; quibus ex parte altera terram con-"tingentibus, reverſum eſt mare in curſum ſolitum "omnes arenas operiens fluctibus copioſis." Chronic. Walt. Hemingf. cap. iii. Edit. Gal. p. 459. vol. ii.

These hardships sufficiently convinced him how difficult it would be to maintain a country so exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, so intersected with impassable ways, and so much disturbed by the turbulent disposition of its inhabitants. From this persuasion, he consented to sell it to Gospatric for a sum of money, and by that means secured him in his interests.

As the king was determined to keep his * Christmas at York, he sent for his crown and other regalia from Winchester, in order to preserve the appearance of dignity, and reflect honour upon his court. Though the king was willing to celebrate this festival in a manner suitable to its solemnity, yet he was too wise to devote it like modern Christians, to intemperate festivity and turbulent mirth; in the midst of his pomp, he had a regard to his interest, and took several prudent measures during the holidays, that were necessary to the welfare of his government, and the security of his person. In order to preserve the peace of the country, free from future interruption, he sent several detachments of his army to lay waste the country, in order to deprive any foreign enemy of subsistence. His orders were executed with such a savage punctuality, that the innocent were involved in the same calamities as the guilty;

* A. D. 1070.

guilty; houſes, monaſteries, and churches were burnt to the ground, and even the very tools of huſbandry were deſtroyed. This rage of vengeance was carried ſo high, that there was not a village or houſe to dwell in, from Durham to York; and for the ſpace of ſixty miles, the ground remained untilled for upwards of nine years; in a word, the country was a perfect deſart, and ſerved only for dens of wild beaſts, and the ſhelter of robbers.

The more ſouthern parts of Yorkſhire ſhared the ſame fate as the others; and in the eaſt Riding, neither a man or a beaſt was ſpared, excepting ſuch of the former as took ſanctuary in the church of St. John of Beverly. This ſacred manſion did indeed eſcape the marks of William's reſentment, was confirmed in the enjoyment of its privileges, and received ſeveral grants from him, on account of the great reverence he bore towards the patron. The wretched inhabitants, thus deprived of their neceſſary ſubſiſtence by the wantonneſs of revenge, became the victims of a horrible famine; a famine which ſwept away, according to Ordericus, no leſs than one hundred thouſand perſons! The horrors of this dreadful cataſtrophe, though terrible enough in themſelves, were rendered ſtill more ſhocking by the ſpectacles of the perſons who lay dead, and rotting on the ground for want of hands to bury them. For

two

two years after the ſcene of miſery met with no abatement, but the wretched inhabitants, driven from their houſes, and deprived of every ſupport of life, wandered about the country abandoned to diſtraction, expoſed to hunger and cold, unable to ſupport the lives of their infants dying in their arms, or to reſcue their friends who had endeavoured to prolong their lives by devouring dogs, cats, vermin, and by feeding on human carcaſſes.

Theſe ſcenes of danger, diſtreſs, and inſupportable calamity, drove vaſt numbers to the lowlands of Scotland, which they ſettled and greatly improved by agriculture. Great numbers of the better ſort, whoſe eſtates were confiſcated, or whoſe minds were utterly averſe to the Norman yoke, retired likewiſe to the ſame country; and being kindly received by queen Margaret, and her huſband king Malcolm, had lands aſſigned them, and were founders of ſome of the * beſt families in Scotland.

As ſoon as the Chriſtmas holidays were over, William marched from York againſt the Welch and Cheſhire men, who ſtill kept in a body under the command of Edric the forreſter. As he croſſed the country, in order to attack the enemy before they had increaſed their numbers, his forces were not a

* See Leſley, *de Origine et Geſtis Scotorum.*

little incommoded in their march. They were obliged to pass through marshes, to penetrate woods, to ascend rocks, and to struggle with such hardships, that the soldiers of Anjou, Maine, and Bretagne, resolutely desired to be dismissed, and refused to follow him any further. William, instead of listening to their complaints, animated them to proceed; and, when he had brought them to Chester, made overtures of accommodation to Edric, whose courage he admired; and thereby put an end to all the commotions in those parts.

To keep the country in awe, he built two castles, one at Chester and the other at Stafford, which he strengthened with garrisons, and then marched to Salisbury. In this city he rewarded his soldiers for their eminent services, and then disbanded them: but they who had mutined in his march, were kept on duty forty days longer than the rest, as a punishment for their discontents, and as a mark of his resentment.

From hence William went to Wincheſter to keep his Easter, where the crown was set on his head by Ermenfroy, bishop of Sion, assisted by John and Peter, two cardinals, who came over in the quality of * legates from the Pope.

The

* Carte observes, that "these were the first of this "character, that ever pretended to exercise any juris-"diction in England." *Carte*'s Hist. vol. ii. p. 410.

The government of William being thus eſtabliſhed, by the very means that were taken to ruin it; the inſurrection that had ſpread itſelf into moſt parts of the kingdom being ſuppreſſed, and the deſolation of the country rendering any future one impracticable for ſome ſeries of years; caſtles being erected all over the kingdom, to keep the natives in awe, and to render the attempts of the diſcontented ineffectual: he ventured upon ſuch meaſures as muſt entirely break the power of the Engliſh nobility, and render his creatures not only more ſubſervient to his will, but likewiſe ſecure their fidelity. With this view he removed the Engliſh from all their poſts, deprived them of their baronies and fiefs, which he granted to the Normans and other foreigners who had followed him from the continent. But as theſe bore no proportion, in point of number, to the Engliſh, who were diſpoſſeſſed, he was obliged to overload his countrymen with the ſpoils, in order to diſpoſe of all the lands he had thus tyrannically taken away from the natives. So numerous were theſe grants, ſo great the variety of manors, that fell to the lot of the chief perſonages about him, that what they had in Normandy was but a mere trifle, in compariſon with their eſtates in England. Robert, his uterine brother, had the earldom of Cornwal, which * contained

* Brady ſays two hundred and forty-eight.

five hundred and forty-eight manors, beſides which he poſſeſſed * five hundred and fifty-eight in other counties. Reſolved to aggrandize his own family, William made Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, his other brother, earl palatine

* According to the laſt mentioned author, they amounted only to five hundred and forty-eight; and the ſum total of all his manors, was ſeven hundred and ninety three; which are three hundred and fifty-three leſs than Rapin's calculation. In order to render the computation of Brady more intelligible to the reader, and at the ſame time to give him ſome idea of his exactneſs, we ſhall ſet down the manner in which he forms his account, and leave it to the curious to verify or diſapprove his calculation, by an inſpection into the doomeſday book.

	Manors.
Cornwall	248
Suſſex	54
Borough of Pevenſey, in Devonſhire	75
Yorkſhire	196
Wiltſhire	5
Dorſetſhire	49
Suffolk	10
Hantſhire	1
Cambridgeſhire	5
Hertfordſhire	13
Buckinghamſhire	29
Glouceſterſhire	1
Northamptonſhire	99
Nottinghamſhire	6
	791
A church and houſe in Exeter, reckoned by the author as	2
Total	793

palatine of Kent, and juſticiary of England. This prelate had * one hundred and eighty fiefs in Kent, beſides two hundred and fifty-five in other places.

William Fitz Oſborn, who had been of ſignal ſervice to his cauſe, was rewarded with the iſle of Wight, together with the earldom of Hereford, and placed together with † Walter de Lacey, William's ſtandard bearer, and lord of Ewyas, in order to repreſs the incurſions of the Welch; which they did effectually, by invading Brecknockſhire, and routing Rhees, Cadowgan, and Meredith. The town and county of Cheſter was at firſt granted to one Gherbode, a

* According to Brady, this illuſtrious perſon had in

	Manors.
Kent	184
Eſſex	39
Oxfordſhire	32
Hertfordſhire	23
Buckinghamſhire	30
Worceſterſhire	2
Bedfordſhire	8
Northamptonſhire	12
Nottinghamſhire	5
Norfolk	22
Warwickſhire	6
Lincolnſhire	76
Total	439

† From the liſt belonging to the archives of the biſhop of Ely.

Flemming; but, on his captivity in Flanders, was transferred to * Hugh d'Avranches, who, though a perſon very corpulent, was remarkably active, and generally appeared at the head of his troops. † The youth of this nobleman was very much blemiſhed by his libertine practices, and in his more advanced age, he was not leſs remarkable for the defeats he gave the Welch. ‡ Allan Fergeant, duke of Bretagne, the con-

* Richard d'Avranches, ſurnamed Goz, father of this Hugh, was ſon of Thurſtane Goz, ſon of Anfred a Dane; and this Hugh, ſurnamed de Loup, was the ſon of the conqueror's ſiſter.

† He held this county palatine, with all the rights of regality, as independant of the crown.

‡ This nobleman married Conſtance, king William's daughter, and received the grant of *Edwin*'s lands from him at the ſiege of York. As Rapin and others have erroneouſly aſſerted that he had Morcar's eſtate, it will not be impertinent to produce the words of the original grant itſelf, now remaining in the Cottonian Library, at the Britiſh Muſeum, marked *Fauſtinus*, B. 7. The arbitrary manner in which the conquerour beſtows theſe eſtates, and the name of *baſtard*, which he aſſumes in the preface to the grant, gives us plain indications of his deſpotiſm and his humility, of his lawleſs ſtretch of power and the vanity of his pretenſions to the crown of this kingdom by inheritance. Not to keep the reader any longer in ſuſpence, the words of the grant run thus. "Ego Gulielmus cog-"nomine *Baſtardus*, Rex Angliæ, do et concedo tibi "nepoti meo Alano comiti Britanniæ et hæredibus "tuis in perpetuum, omnes villas et terras quæ nuper "fuerunt comitis Edwini in Eboraſcira, cum feodis "mili-

conqueror's ſon-in-law, had all earl Edwin's eſtate, with the ſame privileges as Hugh de Loup held the county palatine of Cheſter. To Roger de Montgomery, he granted firſt the towns of Arundel and Chicheſter, and afterwards the county of Shropſhire. Walter Giffard, count of Longueville, was made earl of Buckinghamſhire; William de Warren, a diſtant relation of the conqueror, * obtained

" militum et eccleſiis et aliis libertatibus, et conſuetu-
" dinibus ita libere et honorifice ſicut Edwinus eadem
" tenuit. Data obſidione coram civitate Eboraci." *i. e.* I William, ſurnamed the Baſtard, king of England, do give and grant to thee my nephew (*nepoti*) Alan, earl of Bretaign, and to thy heirs for ever, all thoſe towns, villages, or lands, lately in the poſſeſſion of, or belonging to earl Edwin in Yorkſhire, with knight's fees and churches, together with all other liberties and cuſtoms, as freely and honourably as Edwin held the ſame. Given at the ſiege of York.——Brady obſerves, upon this occaſion, that the lands when given were gildable; but, by this grant, were made a liberty or honour; and compoſed that part of Yorkſhire, called Richmond; which derived its name from the earl's building a caſtle upon an eminence, for the defence of his dependants againſt the Engliſh and Danes: this caſtle was originally named Riche-monte, and in proceſs of time its name was corrupted into Richmond. The chief tenants of this earl, had different places allotted them for the defence of this caſtle, and had ſeveral knight's fees aſſigned them for their ſervice, as appears from the manuſcript, in the Cottonian Library, juſt quoted.

* His father married one of the nieces of Gonnara, at firſt concubine, and afterwards wife to Richard I.

duke

obtained the county of Surry. Eudes, earl of Blois and Chartres, who married the counteſs of Aumale, William's ſiſter, was put in poſſeſſion of Holderneſs. * Raoul, or Ralph de Guair, a Breton, was made earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, and lord of Norwich. † Henry de Ferriers received Tuthbury caſtle. Hugh de Grentmeſnel obtained the town of Leiceſter. Geofry, biſhop of Coutances, in Normandy, who often acted as William's lieutenant-general after the battle of Haſtings, was made juſticiary of England, received no leſs than two hundred and eighty manors, and at his death bequeathed them to his nephew Robert de Mowbray; who, after the death of Walcher, biſhop of Durham, was made earl of Northumberland.

It would be endleſs to mention all the grants given by the king to foreigners; thoſe that are already mentioned, are ſufficient to ſhew that William had no other end,

duke of Normandy, and great-grandmother to Willam: he received his name from Guarena, or Varena, a place or river of the county of Calais, or Chaux. *Ord. Vital. fol.* 544. *lib.* viii. *c.* 36 and 37.

* He received his name from Guaer caſtle in Bretaign, not far from Montfort Le Cannes.

† He was ſon of Guachelm de Ferrariis, or Ferrieres; and, though no earl at the time of the ſurvey, he had then, beſides Tuthbury caſtle, one hundred and ſeventy-ſix manors, or farms; among which, no leſs than one hundred and fourteen were ſituated in Derbyſhire.

end, in this profuſion, but to deprive the Engliſh of their eſtates, their power, and every reſource of vindicating their rights and their liberties.

As theſe eſtates were held immediately from the crown, they were granted out ſolely to ſuch as were their own followers, and intereſted in keeping them from the original poſſeſſors. They were held in the ſame manner as the eſtates in Normandy, where the feudal law prevailed in all its force; they were ſubject to the ſame forfeitures, and deſcended in the ſame order of ſucceſſion. Such was the foundation of what is called the common law of England, the terms of which are all Norman-French; and as far as all its proceedings relate to eſtates and tenures, evidently derived from the Norman cuſtoms.

Thus was England parcelled out among the creatures of the conqueror; the ancient laws of the kingdom, were in a manner abrogated; the judges and lawyers were entirely Normans, the pleadings were carried on in the language of their own country, and the Engliſh were deprived of all hopes of redreſs when they brought their ſuits before their tribunals. This uſage occaſioning a general murmur, Guiſmund, afterwards cardinal and archbiſhop of Averſa, accompanied by Fretheric, abbot of St. Albans, had the boldneſs to make remonſtrances,

ſtrances, in behalf of the ſufferers, to the king. William received their application with great condeſcenſion, and conſented to allow them the benefits of ſome * old laws, relating to fines, forfeitures and amerciaments in criminal matters, and the rates of reliefs

* They were in force in the reign of Edward the confeſſor. The firſt fifty-three of theſe laws or cuſtoms, which were afterwards lodged in Croyland, by Ingulph, ſeem to have been eſtabliſhed for the ſake of the Engliſh. The reſt, to the number of one and twenty, were paſſed in a great council at London, and are preſerved in the red book at the Exchequer. They are moſtly calculated for the Normans, and other foreigners poſſeſſed of lands in this kingdom. They declare "all freeholders of the realm to be exempt from "all tillage and unjuſt exactions, and bound only to "the uſual ſervices due from the lands, as ſettled in "a common council of the kingdom, upon the king's "making them grants thereof in the way of inherit-"ance; but obliging them likewiſe, as well as the "knights and barons, to take an oath of fealty to the "king, to be always ready with arms, and horſes, to "do ſervice incident to their fees, and to unite toge-"ther like ſworn brothers, with all their power and "fortunes, to ſupport and maintain the peace and dig-"nity of the crown, and to defend the kingdom." The reſt ſeem deſigned for the common benefit both of French and Engliſh, and to promote a good correſpondence between them, taking both under protection, forbidding all injuſtice, and ſettling the methods of accuſation and purgation in ſuits between them; providing for the peace of the realm, by appointing watch and ward to be kept throughout it; and encouraging the commerce thereof, by the regulation of weights and meaſures, &c. &c.

reliefs or mortuaries due to ſuperior lords; which were, notwithſtanding, wreſted to anſwer the purpoſes of their oppreſſours.

The ſeverity of the conqueror towards the natives of the kingdom, was not confined to the laity, but extended likewiſe to the clergy. The veneration which the people had for their character, exempted them at firſt from his rapacity; they had been hitherto his friends, and were no mean inſtruments of his ſucceſs. But when he found that there was no power in the kingdom able to controul him, he marked them out as proper victims for his avarice. The charters and immunities which the Saxon kings had granted to the abbeys and monaſteries, under the moſt dreadful ſanctions, were violated by him, without any regard to their expectations. He ſubjected them to military ſervice, obliged them to furniſh a certain number of horſemen in time of war, removed every one who refuſed to comply with his orders, from his benefice, in favour of ſome foreigner, and quartered his ſoldiers in the monaſteries themſelves. By theſe means his army was not only maintained without any diminution of his revenue; but the monks themſelves, a turbulent and ſeditious race of men, were kept in awe, by having ſuch continual ſpies over their conduct.

This

This degree of ſeverity towards ſo venerable a body of men, ſubjected him not a little to the ſecret curſes of the religious; but he ſtill went farther, and carried his contempt to ſuch a pitch as called his own piety in queſtion. * Fitzoſborn, and other incendiaries, having informed him that many perſons had lodged their money and plate

* The terms in which Matth. Paris deſcribes this tranſaction, are ſo ſtrong that it is neceſſary to tranſcribe them. "Anno Domini MLXX. Rex Willielmus peſſimo uſus concilio, omnia Anglorum monaſteria auro ſpolians et argento, inſatiabiliter appropriavit, et ad majora Sanctæ Eccleſiæ opprobria calicibus et feretris non pepercit. Epiſcopatus quoque et Abbatias omnes quæ baronias tenebant, et eatenus ab omni ſervitute ſæculari libertatem habuerant, ſub ſervitute ſtatuit militari, inrotulans ſingulos Epiſcopatus et Abbatias pro voluntate ſua, quot milites ſibi et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, hoſtilitatis tempore, voluit à ſingulis exhiberi. Et rotulas hujus eccleſiaſticæ ſervitutis ponens in theſauris multos viros eccleſiaſticos huic conſtitutioni peſſimæ reluctantes è regno fugavit." *Matt. Paris*, p. 5. Hemingford ſupports this charge, in the following words. "Rex autem in anno Domini MLXX in ipſa quadrageſima monaſteria totius Angliæ perſecutari fecit et pecuniam, quam ditiores Angliæ, propter illius auſteritatem et depopulationem, in eis depoſuerant, auferri juſſit." Chronic. Walt. Hemingford, cap. iv. p. 459. Edit. Gale. Selden, in his Titles of Honour, p. 578, is of opinion that this burden was not impoſed upon the biſhops, and other great abbots, without their own conſent given in a great council of the kingdom, which was held this year at Wincheſter.

plate in the monaſteries, regardleſs of the reputed ſanctity of thoſe places, he ordered them to be ſearched, and, under pretence of taking away what had been concealed, robbed theſe religious houſes of their veſſels, and ſtripped the ſhrines of the ſaints of their offerings.

Not ſatisfied with thus depreſſing the clergy, he was reſolved to humble ſome of them ſtill lower, who were ſuſpicious on account of their wealth, and formidable on account of their power. To begin with thoſe who were leſs conſiderable, would have been a very imprudent ſtep; becauſe it would have alarmed thoſe in great power, and have put them upon taking ſuch meaſures to defend themſelves, as might have rendered his government precarious. On the other hand, he knew that a ſucceſsful blow, aimed at the head of the order, would aſtoniſh the inferior ſort in ſuch a manner, that it would have been eaſy for him to ruin them all at his pleaſure. * Stigand, the archbiſhop of

* This prelate was a perſon of noble birth, and ſuppoſed to have been of Daniſh extraction. His poſſeſſions lay in the country of the Eaſt Angles, and before the conqueſt were imagined to have been greater than any in England, excepting thoſe of Harold and Edwin. Though he was not very deeply read in books, he was profoundly verſed in mankind, and had great natural parts, improved by reflection, and encreaſed by experience. His judgment was clear, and his underſtanding

Canterbury, was marked out as the first victim of the king's tyranny; yet to accomplish

ing solid. His prudence, constancy, magnanimity, and extraordinary talents, had been universally acknowledged. He was possessed of an insinuating address, an irresistible eloquence, and great artfulness. He was magnificent, perfectly acquainted with business, possessed every qualification requisite for a statesman, and was able to manage the humours of persons to his own advantage. His immense riches, power, and character, gave him great influence over persons of all ranks, and his interest was employed entirely in defence of the rights and liberties of his countrymen. He had been chaplain to Edward the confessor, and had so great an ascendant over that monarch, that, when all the rest of the nobility had failed in their application, he prevailed with him to condescend to an accommodation with Godwin, and to consent to the expulsion of the Normans. On the expulsion of Robert, he was promoted to the see of Canterbury, but the monks were so much exasperated at his preferment, on account of his being a secular priest, that they have endeavoured to brand his memory with some reproaches, which he deserved less than some of their greatest favourites. His retaining the see of Winchester, after he had taken possession of that of Canterbury, has furnished them with a pretence for charging him with avarice. Though, when we consider the low ebb at which learning was in his days in England, the danger that might happen to the nation from filling the great posts of the kingdom with foreigners, and the necessity he was under of keeping places for some time in his own hands, before he could meet with Englishmen proper to fill them, he might justly be acquitted from the charge of avarice. That lucre was not *so much* his motive in this point, appears from the manner in which he employed

pliſh his depoſition, was an affair of ſome difficulty. The Engliſh prelates had ever regarded their primate with the moſt profound veneration; and, according to Eadmer, there had not been a ſingle precedent of the proſecution, much leſs of the deprivation of an archbiſhop of Canterbury. The forms of proceeding were conſequently to be borrowed from the practice of other countries; but it was much to be queſtioned, whether the other prelates, though moſt of them were foreigners, could be brought to degrade a primate to whom they had all ſworn canonical obedience. They could not charge Stigand with any offence againſt the canons and practice of the church of England; and to paſs the ſevereſt cenſures againſt a man, their acknowledged ſuperior, without ſome legal pretence, was too much

ployed the revenues that he received during the vacancies; every farthing of which ſeems to have been expended in ornamenting and enriching religious houſes. According to Thorne, he was a great benefactor to St. Auguſtin's; and the many ſumptuous preſents, whoſe value was ineſtimable, are ſtanding proofs of the truth of our aſſertion. His view in holding the ſee of Winchester, jointly with that of Canterbury, might have been equally laudable, and did not want for ſeveral venerable precedents to vindicate it. We might obſerve further, that the occaſion of Stigand's holding Winchester, was his being named to Canterbury upon the exile of his predeceſſor, till whoſe death he was probably no more than the adminiſtrator of his ſee.

to be expected from a ſynod of the Engliſh nation. It was highly impolitic to irritate a prelate of Stigand's character, without ruining him, and putting it out of his power of revenging the injury; nothing but ſucceſs could warrant the attempt, and William was determined to ſucceed by trampling on all the rights, and deſtroying the independency, of the Engliſh church.

He applied to the court of Rome, for proper inſtruments to bring his deſigns to bear; and the pope, who was willing to embrace this opportunity of introducing his juriſdiction into this iſland, eaſily complied with his requeſt.

Ermenfroy, who had aſſiſted William on a ſimilar occaſion in Normandy, was charged with the execution of this important deſign, and was aſſiſted by the cardinals John and Peter, who came over with the character of the pope's legates. This awful triumvirate waited about two years before they durſt put their deſign in execution, and thought that the repoſe which the kingdom enjoyed after the northern inſurrection, the criſis for effectuating their commiſſion. A general council of all the biſhops and abbots was ſummoned to meet at Wincheſter, three days after Eaſter. The charge laid againſt Stigand, conſiſted of three articles:

Firſt,

* Firſt, that he had retained the ſee of Wincheſter, together with that of Canter-

 bury,

* The firſt article of accuſation, might have been anſwered by producing the variety of precedents to be found in the Engliſh church; it being no new thing for one perſon to hold a plurality of prelacies. Leofric, abbot of Peterborough, nephew to the earl of Mercia of the ſame name, held the abbeys of Burton, Coventry, Thorney, and Croyland, together with that of Peterborough; St. Dunſtan held the ſees of Worceſter and London, at the ſame time; and St. Oſwald, Adulf, and Wulſtan, his three ſucceſſors in the former of theſe ſees, held it for a ſeries of ſixty years, together with the archbiſhopric of York. Aldred, who crowned William, would willingly have held them both, as he had done Hereford and Worceſter, if he might have been permitted; and even when he was forced to reſign Worceſter, he retained twelve manors belonging to that ſee. Hence we may conclude, that the firſt article of accuſation preferred againſt Stigand, was but too agreeable to the practice of the Engliſh church, to be made a crime here; and though they ſhould have had a different idea of it at Rome, the utmoſt penalty for it was to oblige the pluraliſt to quit his former biſhopric, as was done in the caſe of Aldred, who was obliged to promiſe to reſign his ſee of Worceſter, before he could obtain his pall for that of York. The ſecond charge, if really ſupported by facts, was a mere trifle, being nothing more than the wearing an honorary ornament, and meriting deprivation no more than the wearing of a ſcarf by a modern clergyman, without being legally qualified. But the greateſt ſtreſs being laid upon the third article, it will not be amiſs to conſider it more minutely. Robert was baniſhed at the latter end of the ſummer in A.D. 1052, after which he went to Rome, to intereſt the pope in

bury, as well after as before the death of his predeceſſour. Secondly, that he had worn his pall

his quarrel. The delays of this court being very great, he had made no progreſs in his ſuit when Leo IX. died in 1054, and the papal ſee continuing vacant one year, when Victor II. was choſen, Robert very probably tried what he could do with the new pope. His application proving ineffectual, he retired to Normandy, his native country, and died in the abbey of Jumieges, in the beginning of the year 1058; probably in the month of May. Benedict X. had been elected pope on the fifth of the precedent month, and continued in poſſeſſion, without a rival, 'till the beginning of the year following, when he was depoſed for intruding into the ſee without the emperor's mandate, and Nicholas II. was choſen in his ſtead. It could therefore be no impropriety for Stigand, on his ſucceeding to Canterbury, to apply for the pall, at this interval, to the only pope then in being; perhaps ſome others did the ſame; and as none of Benedict's acts were ever reſcinded or annulled by his ſucceſſour, the receipt of the pall from ſuch a perſon, could be no ways culpable in Stigand. To this we may add, that pope Nicholas never objected to Stigand's receiving of the pall from Benedict; that Stigand was univerſally acknowledged, and ſubmitted to, as their legal primate, by all the Engliſh biſhops; and even by Wulſtan, who was remarkable for his nicety and ſcrupulouſneſs; that Alexander himſelf had no objection to him; and what is ſtill more cogent, Wulſtan, when conſecrated biſhop of Worceſter, A. D. 1062, made profeſſion of his obedience in the preſence of the pope's legates, one of which was this very Ermenfroy, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the ſecond part of this note. What ſtill ſhews the third article of impeachment to be groundleſs, is William's acknowledging Stigand to be the rightful primate, after

pall at the celebration of maſs. And thirdly, that he had received another pall from Benedict X. who had been declared an invader of the papacy, for having ſimoniacally intruded himſelf into the apoſtolical chair; and had been excommunicated. What defence the archbiſhop made to this charge, is at preſent a ſecret; though it is certain, that he appeared in perſon at the council; that he demanded William's protection, who abjectly told him that he durſt not diſpute the pope's mandates, and ſuffered the ſentence of depoſition to be paſſed againſt him. What William's views were in this proceſs, may be eaſily gueſſed from his conduct immediately after the trial. He ſeized upon all the vaſt poſſeſſions of Stigand, confined him in priſon, and kept him upon a very ſcanty

after his acceſſion to the throne, and his treating him always agreeable to the dignity of his character, 'till this preſent occaſion.

How proper Ermenfroy was for the commiſſion wherewith he was charged, appears from the affair of Mauger, archbiſhop of Rouën, whom he had depoſed at William's application, A. D. 1055. A man who had ſerved him in an affair wherein his honour was intimately concerned, was likely to pay a due regard to it in a ſimilar one. And as the dominion of the pope over this kingdom, depended entirely on the condemnation of Stigand, and on anſwering the views of William, it is not at all to be wondered at, when we find the archbiſhop deprived and impriſoned, for reaſons that are highly frivolous and void of defence.

* ſcanty allowance for the reſt of his life; which was but very ſhort.

William having thus removed Stigand, reſolved to accompliſh his deſign in turning all

* Malmeſbury, who is very partial in ſelecting ſuch facts as more immediately concern the character of William, informs us that Stigand was kept cloſe priſoner at Wincheſter, where he lived upon very mean fare: his allowance from the king being but ſmall, he was too avaricious to ſupply the deficiencies from his own eſtate. Some of his friends, and particularly Edgitha, the dowager of king Edward, perſuading him to live more generouſly; he ſwore, by all that was holy, that it was not in his power, and that he was not worth a farthing. The immenſe riches that were found concealed underground after his deceaſe, manifeſted not only his avarice but his perjury likewiſe. They were diſcovered by means of a little key, found hanging about his neck after he was dead, which belonged to a cheſt containing notes; by means of which the quantity, quality, and place of his treaſure, were diſcovered. The reaſon why the partizans of the conquerour treated the memory of this prelate with ſo much acrimony, may be eaſily aſſigned from his refuſal to crown William, and his endeavouring to eſtabliſh Edgar Atheling on the throne; hence it is, that he is treated with the groſſeſt obloquy by the compiler of the *Annales Waverlienſes*, who ſticks not to call him an apoſtate and every thing that is bad, as appears from his own words. "Depoſito Stigando *Apoſtata*, qui "prius fuerit Epiſcopus Halmenſis, quæ ſedes poſtea ad "Norwich tranſlata eſt, et poſtea Epiſcopus Wintoni-"enſis, ad ultimum Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, et "hos tres honores non cauſa *religionis*, ſed cauſa *cupi-"ditatis* SIMUL tenebat, unde a Papa Romano excom-"municatus fuerat." *Annales Waverlienſes ad annum* MLXX.

all the Engliſh biſhops out of their ſees, and in ſubſtituting foreigners in their ſtead.

There were only four biſhops at this time who were natives of the country, which is a circumſtance that enables us to account for the facility with which William accompliſhed his deſigns, and introduced the papal authority into the kingdom. The names of the four prelates were as follows: Agelmare, biſhop of Elmham; Agelric, of Seleſey; Wulſtan, of Worceſter; and Egelwin, of Durham. Agelmar, who was brother to archbiſhop Stigand, was deprived at the ſame time as his brother, together with ſeveral abbots of the moſt opulent monaſteries. The power exerted upon this occaſion, was arbitrary; and, according to the invariable narrative of ſeveral hiſtorians, theſe eminent prelates were deprived "without any apparent cauſe, and without being guilty of any act, condemned either "by councils, the canons of the church, or "the laws of the land." Yet, however unjuſt the decrees of the legates were, William took care to have them executed, and enforced all their ſentences by impriſoning the deprived prelates, by keeping them confined during their lives, and by filling their places with Normans. Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, not intimidated by the arbitrary proceedings of the legates, or the deſpotic

conduct

conduct of the king, boldly challenged the lands retained by Aldred, when he was tranſlated from the ſee of Worceſter to York; but the latter ſee being at that time vacant, his cauſe was put off till ſuch time as a biſhop of York ſhould be conſecrated. Agelric, biſhop of Seleſey, and abundance of abbots, were involved in the ſame calamity as Agelmare; that is to ſay, they were not only deprived of their ſees, but likewiſe impriſoned for life. Egelric, biſhop of Durham, eluded the conqueror's vigilance by flight; but being taken the year after in Ely, was confined at * Abingdon, or Weſtminſter, till the day of his death. The abbacies and ſees, thus torn from the natives of the kingdom, were laviſhed upon the creatures of the king, who beſtowed the archbiſhopric of York upon Thomas, canon of Bayeux; gave the ſee of Wincheſter, to Walchelin or Walkelyn, one of his Norman chaplains; and the dioceſes of Elmham and Seleſey, to Arfaſt and Stigand, two other of his chaplains.

The filling the ſee of Canterbury with a proper perſon, was a thing of the higheſt importance; in-as-much-as the whole progreſs he had made in new-modelling the bench of biſhops, entirely depended upon it.

* Perhaps the author ſhould rather have ſaid Marlborough, ſince the original is Mearleaſbeorge; as appears from Florence of Worceſter, and R. Hoveden.

it. * Lanfranc, an Italian, formerly an abbot of a monaſtery at Caen in Normandy, ſeemed to him qualified for this dignity. He had often conſulted him on affairs of the

* This prelate was a native of Pavie, in the duchy of Milan; and having made great advances in learning during his youth, ſettled at Bec in Normandy, where he read lectures in logic. His reputation was ſo great, that the moſt conſiderable perſons of that age, and country, might be reckoned among his ſcholars. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his writings againſt Berengarius, archdeacon of Angiers, who held the appearance of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, to be only a meer ſign; and afterwards, fell into the oppoſite extreme of *impannation*: but being condemned in a ſynod at Rome, under Nicholas II. made a ſolemn retraction, wherein he profeſſed to believe, "that the elements, after conſe-"cration, are not only the *ſacrament*, but the *very* "*body and blood of Chriſt*; and that this body and "blood of Chriſt is ſenſibly, not only in the ſacra-"ment, but in truth, handled and broken by the "hand of the prieſt, and bruiſed by the teeth of the "faithful." Such was the doctrine which Lanfranc introduced into England; which he endeavoured to eſtabliſh upon the credit of ſeveral pretended miracles wrought by prelates, whoſe lives were written by Oſborn at his requeſt. We ſhould have obſerved, that Lanfranc was prior of the abbey at Bec, when the duke of Normandy ſent him to Rome, to manage the affair of his marriage with Mathilda, who was related to him within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity. The manner in which the prior acquitted himſelf, was ſo ſatisfactory that William made him abbot of the monaſtery of St. Stephen at Caen; which he was obliged to found, in order to obtain the grant of diſpenſation on that account.

the greateſt importance, and had from experience ſuch an idea of his abilities, that his preferment was rather the claim, than the reward of his merits. When he arrived in England, the king's nomination was * confirmed by a great council, conſiſting of all the biſhops, clergy, nobility, and commons of the kingdom: he was conſecrated by eight biſhops, among which Giſo, biſhop of Wells, and Walter, biſhop of Hereford, are particularly named.

Theſe encroachments on the liberty of the church, of the nobles, and, in one word, of the whole nation, laid William under the neceſſity of keeping up a ſtanding army to ſupport them. An eſtabliſhment of this nature required an immenſe revenue to maintain it, and no leſs œconomy in the management

* The manuſcript Latin copy of the Saxon annals, in Bennet college library, Cambridge, mentions that he was confirmed by a great council of the kingdom, conſiſting of the elders or ſenior monks, the biſhops, chief men, clergy and people of England, in Curia Regis, *i. e.* in the king's great council or parliament, aſſembled. This is likewiſe corroborated from a very antient manuſcript in the Bodleian library, at Oxford; as well as by the authour of a ſhort relation concerning king William, printed at the end of Silas Taylor's hiſtory of Gavelkind. From this proceſs, we may obſerve that notwithſtanding the incroachments of the pope, and the deſpotic power of the king, the great counſel of the kingdom had not as yet loſt its prerogative of confirming the two metropolitans of the Engliſh church.

ment of ſuch ſums as were raiſed with that deſign. William, who was never at a loſs for expedients, erected the court of exchequer on this occaſion, wherein the accounts of all the officers employed in collecting the king's revenue were paſſed, and all actions relating thereto were heard. The exactions and irregularities of collectours, and the delays and defaults in payment from the perſons aſſeſſed, were particularly cogniſable in this court. The king's revenue, at this time, conſiſted in a land-tax, called Danegelt; a quit-rent out of all the lands in England, wardſhips, reliefs, and fines; livery of hereditary lands, aſſignation of dower, licenſes of marriage; leave to ſue in the king's courts, mulcts and forfeitures for marrying without licenſe, and other miſdemeanours; pecuniary penalties, by which almoſt all crimes were commuted for or puniſhed; tolls and cuſtoms for paſſage, pontage, freedom of fairs and markets, protection and liberty of buying and ſelling, and duties laid upon merchandize. Beſides theſe general branches, and the old demeſne lands ſet apart for the ſupply of his houſhold, he received occaſional aids from thoſe who held their lands by knight's ſervice, and levied tillage upon ſocage tenants, and trading towns. From theſe various reſources, his revenue amounted to about four hundred

thouſand pounds a-year; as money was then eſtimated by weight, if we ſuppoſe that the revenue conſiſted of ſo many pounds weight of ſilver, the whole amount might be computed at twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; a ſum, which, conſidering the difference of proviſions, and the different quantity of money between the two ages, was equivalent to twelve millions of money at preſent. This bare conſideration muſt give us an idea of the vaſt opulence of this monarch, and of the riches and commerce of the kingdom in thoſe early days: but if to this we add, that he conſtantly quartered ſixty-thouſand knights upon the monaſteries, his grandeur muſt increaſe in our ideas, almoſt beyond the limits of credibility.

The ſtanding army with which William was ſurrounded was not able to rid him of his jealouſies, nor free his ſubjects from their diſcontents. They were looked upon by the clergy and the laity, as the locuſts of the land, and inſtead of reducing them to ſervile ſubjection, and ſilent diſtreſs, ſerved only to give voices to their grievance, to render them deſperate, and ſtimulate them to exploits, that muſt put an end to their ſufferings either by their own deſtruction, or the recovery of their liberty. Under * the auſpices

* This tranſaction reſts ſolely on the authority of Matthew Paris, who mentions it in his Lives of the twenty-three Abbots of St. Albans, and particularly in the

auſpices of Fretheric a conſpiracy was formed, which bid fair for ſucceſs, on account of the greatneſs of his riches, the nobility of his birth, the extenſiveneſs of his popularity, and the formidableneſs of his intereſt. The plan of operations projected by this brave abbot, was carried on with ſo much ſecrecy, that a conſiderable body of forces were aſſembled before William received the leaſt hints of their deſign. The king looking on this conſpiracy as a prelude to a general revolt, was apprehenſive of loſing his crown which he had acquired by ſo much bloodſhed, together with his life. Lanfranc, who was fruitful in expedients, and a conſummate politician, adviſed the king to treat the Engliſh with leſs ſeverity, and propoſe a conference with the chiefs of the conſpiracy at Berkamſtead. After many remonſtrances and expoſtulations which paſſed in the preſence of the archbiſhop, William conſented to take an oath upon all the relicks of St. Albans, at the ſame time

the life of Fretheric. As he might probably have met with it in ſome manuſcript belonging to that abbey, and as the account coincides with the general character of this abbot, the author could not help introducing it into the text. Though he muſt confeſs that Edgar's being introduced as a chief actor, is ſomewhat inconſiſtent with the accounts of other hiſtorians, who ſay he did not return to England till three years after.

kiſſing the holy evangeliſts, whereby he obliged himſelf to reſtore the ancient laws of the realm, which had been enacted by the kings his predeceſſours, and particularly thoſe of Edward the Confeſſour. The malecontents ſatisfied with the king's condeſcenſion, diſmiſſed their troops, and retired to their reſpective eſtates.

The king, who ſeems to have conſented to this oath becauſe it was not in his power to refuſe it, pulled off the maſk as ſoon as the conſpirators were diſperſed, and unable to reaſſemble for their mutual defence. Though it was unſafe for him to attack them when united, he could eaſily maſter them when ſeparate, and taking advantage of their credulity, put ſome of them to death, confiſcated the eſtates of others, and ſent the reſt into perpetual exile. In open violence of the laws he had ſworn to obſerve, he deprived ſeveral of their poſſeſſions without the form of a trial, and enriched his Normans with the ſpoils. Several of the nobles on this occaſion quitted the realm, and fled for refuge into Ireland, Denmark and Norway.

The good old Fretheric was apprehenſive that the king, or Lanfranc the archbiſhop, would make him feel the weight of their reſentment as the authour of the late commotion, and deprive him either of his liberty or his life. In the midſt of his agitation he went

went into the Chapter-houſe, and burſting into tears before his fraternity, pathetically addreſſed them, calling them ſons and brethren, and repeating the expreſſion of our bleſſed Saviour, wherein he orders his diſciples *to fly from thoſe that ſhould perſecute them from one city into another.* Having obtained licence of the fraternity to leave the convent, he took with him a few books, ſome cloaths, and other neceſſaries for his journey, with which he fled to the Iſle of Ely, which at that time was in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh lords, who had openly revolted againſt the king. The good abbot overcome with grief, and unable to bear the calamities of his country, fell ſick a few days after his arrival, and changed his life for a better. William ſeized on his abbey of St. Albans, as ſoon as he heard of the abbot's death, and by cutting down the woods, and * impoveriſhing the tenants, would have entirely ruined them, had he not been ſtopped by the remonſtrances of Lanfranc his favourite.

The tyranny of William operated differently on the minds of different perſons; while ſome were intimidated by his ſeverity voluntarily to embrace the chains of ſlavery; others were provoked to deſpair, and when

* See the Life of Fretheric, among thoſe of the twenty-three abbots of St. Albans, written by Matthew Paris, and ſubjoined to Watts's edition of Paris's *Hiſtoria Major*, p. 1001, and 1002.

when grown deſperate made incredible efforts to ſatiate their revenge. Several of the malecontents retired to the Iſle of Ely, which was called an iſland on account of its being ſurrounded by a moraſs; it was a place of great ſtrength, and when filled with a proper number of men might afford them a ſhelter from the king's reſentment. The earls Edwin and Morcar, finding that their peaceable conduct had not ſecured them the king's favour, and fearing every day to fall the ſacrifices of his jealouſy, ſtole privately from the court with an intent to join the rebels in this place. Edwin ſome time after in his journey to Scotland, which he undertook with a view of engaging Malcolm in the quarrel, was murthered on the road by his own attendants. Morcar got to Ely by ſea, where he was joined by Agelric and Agelwin, biſhops of Durham and Hereford, Siward Barne, and the brave Hereward de Wake, ſon of Leofric lord of Brunne, who was reputed the greateſt warriour, and the braveſt ſoldier of his age. This young nobleman, on his return from Flanders, finding his mother Elvira, then a widow, much injured and diſtreſſed by the Normans, and his own eſtate granted to one of them, had harraſſed them ever ſince his return, and by the aſſiſtance of his own tenants had avenged his mother and driven the invaders from his eſtate.

eſtate. After this ſucceſs he viſited Brand the abbot of Peterborough, who was his uncle, and had received from him the order of knighthood, according to the * Engliſh cuſtom then in practice. The great reputation Hereward had acquired, and the unconquerable averſion he bore to the Normans induced the malecontents to chooſe him for their commander. Hereward, in order to anſwer their expectations, and to vindicate their choice, fortified every acceſſible part of the iſland, and laid in proviſions for a long ſiege.

The king, who was well acquainted with this nobleman's abilities, and apprehenſive that Morcar's popularity might draw in greater numbers to join him, reſolved to take the advantage of the ſummer, in which ſeaſon alone the place was acceſſible. The king perhaps imagined likewiſe it might have been in his power to have ſurpriſed Hereward before he had taken proper meaſures for his defence. But this brave commander ſuppoſing that William would ſoon attack

* The ceremony was performed in the following manner: The perſon to be knighted confeſſed his ſins, and ſpent the preceding night in watching and praying in the church; the next morning, before maſs, he offered up his ſword upon the altar: and, after reading the goſpel, the prieſt bleſſed the ſword, and put it over the knight's neck; after which he received the communion and was ever after deemed a true knight.

attack the place, had already taken the proper precautions to prevent his attempts. He ordered a wooden fort to be built in the moraſs, which could not be aſſaulted, although it defended the only paſs whereby the beſieged were acceſſible. * The king finding it impoſſible to reduce the place by ſtorm, converted his operations into a blockade, and determined to ſtarve the beſieged. With this view he built a ſtrong caſtle at Wiſbech, blocked up the iſle with his forces, aſſaulted it on the eaſt with a great number of flat-bottomed boats, and made a cauſeway or bridge over the moraſs for two miles in length. This method of proceeding was attended with delays very diſagreeable to William, who wanted to turn his arms againſt Malcolm king of Scotland, on account of the inroads he made about this time in his dominions. † The beſieged perceiving his deſigns, raiſed a high fortification of turf to protect them againſt the king's aſſaults, and defended themſelves with incredible bravery and conſtancy. The king reſolving to ſtreighten them more than he had done, and by that means thinking he might frighten them into a ſurrender, removed his camp nearer to the iſland, and at

* A. D. 1071.

† From the manuſcript hiſtory of Ely in the Cottonian Library at the Britiſh Muſeum, marked *Titus*. A. 1.

at the ſame time detached a conſiderable body of forces, conſiſting both of infantry and cavalry, to prevent the enemy from ſallying out. One morning as the king's forces were employed in carrying wood and earth to fill up the channel of the Ouſe in order to make it fordable, Hereward ſallied out upon them, ſurprized them at their works, put them to flight, and returned victorious with a great booty.

* This check diſturbed William not a little, and ſet him upon a project, which in its conſequence promoted the reduction of the place. The monks of Ely holding ſeveral manors out of the iſland, the king ſeized

* The manuſcript hiſtory of Ely in the Britiſh Muſeum, already quoted, repreſents "William as making a truce with the malecontents after this ſucceſsful ſally; which the writer ſays was ſoon broken by William's ſeizing and impriſoning Egelwin in his paſſage from Ely. The war being thus renewed, our authour ſays that Hereward was recalled, made commander in chief, and in a ſecond ſally having ſlain great numbers of the enemies, gained a conſiderable booty. That he admitted none into the confederacy, who would not make oath upon the body of St. Ethered or St. Audrey, to maintain that quarrel to their utmoſt; and that the king being called off by freſh invaſions, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege." We have thought it proper to mention this account that the reader might not be denied the pleaſure of ſeeing it, but as it contradicts almoſt all the reſt of our ancient hiſtorians, we have thruſt it into this note, as a tranſaction that is not ſufficiently authenticated to appear in the text.

ſeized them in order to intimidate the fraternity, and to bring them to terms. As ſoon as William had taken poſſeſſion of theſe lands, he diſtributed them among his followers. An alienation of this kind producing a great clamour among the monks, they importuned Thurſtan their abbot, till he promiſed them to try ſome expedient to get them reſtored. * The abbot unable to reſiſt their

* The writer of the manuſcript hiſtory of Ely, in the Cottonian Library at the Britiſh Muſeum, marked *Titus* A. 1. gives us an account ſomewhat different, with which we ſhall indulge the reader's curioſity. Our author repreſents William as making a truce after the firſt ſally of the beſieged, and gives us to underderſtand that Hereward had left the iſle on that occaſion. But William having broken the treaty in the manner already deſcribed, Hereward was ſent for again, and returning with ſeveral Engliſh outlaws was honoured with the poſt of commander in chief, after which he marched out of the iſland, killed many of his enemies, and made a conſiderable booty. The king being called off by freſh invaſions, was forced to raiſe the ſiege, which he did not renew till his ſecond return from Normandy in the year 1057. At this period the monks having all their lands ſeized, and having conſumed all their proviſions, were forced at laſt to make a peace with the king, and ſent Thurſtan with ſome of his monks to treat with William in their behalf. But the terms which the king offered them not meeting with their aſſent, he ſent a new raiſed army of horſe and foot againſt them; which falling upon the iſland by means of the fleet that blocked up the mouth of the river, at laſt paſſed the moraſſes, and aſſaulting the beſieged with their battering engines, put them to flight, and eaſily made themſelves maſters both of the abbey

their clamours, ſent one of his emiſſaries to William privately, promiſing to deliver the iſland into his hands with all that was in it, and pay him ſeven hundred marks in money,

abbey and the iſland. After this ſignal ſucceſs the king marched towards the monaſtery, blocking up the gates of the church to prevent the monks meeting him, in ſolemn proceſſion, with their croſſes and relicks, in order to appeaſe his anger. When he arrived at the monaſtery he offered half a mark of gold at the ſhrine of St. Audery, and having put a ſtrong garriſon of Normans into the abbey, and the caſtle of Alrehede, returned the ſame way as he came. The abbot and monks, by the mediation of Gilbert de Clan, and other perſons of diſtinction, endeavoured to make their peace with the king, and when brought into his preſence at Wickford made the compoſition already mentioned in the text. Fuller in his church hiſtory, p. 166, and 169, ſupplies us with no incurious anecdote from a manuſcript hiſtory in his poſſeſſion, which may be added as ſupplement to the account already related. Each of the horſemen mentioned as billeted in the monaſtery, was quartered with ſome principal monk, and by living with them under the ſame roof, and dining with them at the ſame table, familiarized himſelf ſo much with the humours of his comrade, that the mutual averſion they had to each other wore away by inſenſible degrees, and a cordial friendſhip was contracted between them. The king's power was thus eſtabliſhed in the convent, and the rebellious pride of the monks was entirely extirpated. So that when the king ordered theſe ſoldiers to quit the abbey on an emergent occaſion, the monks knew not how to part with them; and on their departure accompanied them with their croſſes, cenſers and hymns in a ſolemn proceſſion as far as Hadenham.

ney, on condition of his reſtoring the manors which belonged to the monaſtery. The king readily granted the terms, and Thurſtan found means to introduce him into the iſland. Hereward, finding himſelf betrayed, boldly fought his way through the Normans. The monks, in order to perform their condition in the treaty, carried the money they had promiſed to the king's receivers, but it wanting one groat of weight, William refuſed to ratify the compact, unleſs they paid him three hundred marks more to make up the full ſum one thouſand. They had been obliged to ſell a great part of the ornaments of their church to make up the former ſum, but their diſtreſs was inexpreſſible, when they found themſelves obliged to increaſe it. The images of their ſaints were ſtripped of all their gold and ſilver ornaments, and the church was robbed of every thing of value to make up the deficiencies.

They who had not followed Hereward in his brave eſcape, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves at diſcretion. Some of them were puniſhed with the loſs of their eyes, * others had their hands cut off, and ſome were confined in priſon. Among the laſt were earl

* Florence of Worceſter informs us that the objects of this act of cruelty were the common ſoldiers, and that, after they had been treated in this barbarous manner, they were let go.

* earl Morcar, and ſeveral noblemen who were taken with him, beſides Egilwin biſhop of Durham, who obſtinately refuſing to take any nouriſhment in his confinement was ſtarved to death. The monks themſelves, notwithſtanding their capitulation, were not

* Ordericus clears both Edwin and Morcar from any ill deſign, and Morcar from having any ſhare in the rebellion, repreſenting his condemnation to perpetual impriſonment as a breach of faith, aſſerting that he had been trepanned into a voluntary ſurrender by the aſſurances of the king's meſſengers, who had in that reſpect abuſed his credit. This hiſtorian repreſents all Edwin's motions to have received their riſe from hence, that they had no other object than the reſcue of his brother, and that having ſollicited the Engliſh, Scotch and Welſh for ſix months together to join him, he was at length betrayed to the Normans by three brothers, who were his followers, and entruſted with the care of his affairs. As he was on the road, with a ſmall party conſiſting of about twenty horſe, he was ſurpriſed by a much ſuperiour body of Normans, againſt whom he would have made good his retreat, had not a river he would have croſſed been rendered impaſſable by the ſwelling of the tide. This reſource failing him, he ſtill made a gallant defence, and was ſlain on the ſpot, together with all his followers. His bravery, which would not ſuffer him to receive quarter, was not more remarkable, than the charms of his perſon; for he was eſteemed the handſomeſt man of his age. As he was univerſally beloved, his death was lamented by the Normans and French, as well as by the Engliſh. His unhappy fate extorted tears even from William, who though he was a gainer by the treachery, puniſhed the traitors, who murdered him, with perpetual baniſhment.

exempted from William's reſentment, but were obliged not only to ſupport, but likewiſe to pay wages to forty horſemen, who were quartered upon them.

Whilſt William was employed in the reduction of Ely, Malcolm, king of Scotland, took the opportunity of ravaging the Northern provinces with exceſſive barbarity, ſavageneſs and fury *. The open towns and churches he burned to aſhes; the old and young were butchered without any regard to age or ſex; children were ſnatched from their mothers breaſts, toſſed in the air, and received on the points of lances, and every act

* Leſt the reader ſhould think that theſe inſtances of barbarity are too dreadful to be credited, unleſs authenticated, we have tranſcribed the words of the original to ſatisfy him in a point, which ſeems to require them. "Per terras ſancti cuthberti diſcurrens multos "rebus privavit et vita: villas eccleſiaſque cum illis, "qui in eas confugerant, concremando; ſenes et ve"tulæ gladiis obſtruncantur; alii indifferentur confo"diuntur: rapti ab uberibus matrum parvuli proji"ciuntur in altum & lanceis excipiuntur; hac enim "crudelitate maxima pro ludi ſpectaculo delectabantur "Scoti, beſtiis crudeliores. Virgines vero aliquas et "juvenes quoſdam duxerunt miſeros et captivos, et re"verſi ſunt ſic in terram malam." *Hemmingford*, cap. x. Gale's edit. vol. II. pag. 459. Brompton corroborates this charge, by aſſerting with our author, that Malcolm "waſted Teeſdale, Cleveland, and all "the neighbouring parts; that he burnt ſeveral cities, "killed abundance of noblemen, &c." *Brompt.* pag. 966. See likewiſe Sim. of Durham, pag. 209.

act of barbarity was practiſed, which could give delight to a ſavage diſpoſition, or affect a humane one with horrour and abomination.

Goſpatric, who had purchaſed Northumberland of William, being too weak to oppoſe the Scottiſh king, endeavoured to make a diverſion by penetrating into Cumberland, where he rivalled Malcolm in acts of cruelty, and in exceſſes of ſavageneſs.

William * having reduced Ely, marched againſt the Scottiſh king into Galloway; but Malcolm retiring as he advanced, he found that he harraſſed his army with a fatiguing march over mountains and moraſſes to no purpoſe. Forced by the incredible difficulties he had to ſurmount, he changed his rout, and entered Lothian with a reſolution to force the Scots to an engagement. When William came up with the enemy, he found them ſtrongly entrenched, and poſted in a very advantageous ſituation. He encamped near them in order to refreſh his men after their fatigue, and to obſerve their motions.

The two armies remained facing each other for ſome days, prepared for action, but not eager to begin the attack. Their equality in numbers and bravery kept them in this ſtate of ſuſpence; beſides, each of their kings were brave and martial, had been

* A. D. 1072.

trained up in arms and inured to dangers: though they were courageous, they were wise too, and knew too well the event of a battle, and the consequences which a defeat might produce. These considerations inclined both parties to an accommodation, and * on Malcolm's sending his embassadours to William, a peace was made, on the following conditions; "That the boundaries of the two nations should be settled; "that he should swear fealty to him, or do "him homage †; and that William should "restore

* Buchanan and Hector Boethius in the narrative they give of this expedition, conceal the apprehensions the Scottish forces were under at William's approach, and the homage which Malcolm paid the conquerour: and representing the English king as weary of the war, and making overtures of a peace, inform us, that, on this occasion, he confirmed the grant of Cumberland to Malcolm, on condition of his holding it of him in fealty, and attempting nothing to the prejudice of the crown of England.

† Though Holinshead and other English historians assert positively, that Malcolm performed homage to William for all Scotland; yet it must be owned it is more than can be gathered from ancient authours, who express themselves in very vague and general terms on this occasion: they inform us indeed, that Malcolm did homage, but are not so particular as to mention what part of his territories were the object of his condescension. Hemingford's account is thus; "Anno "domini MLXXII. post assumptionem beatæ Mariæ "cum audisset Wilhelmus Rex mala quæ fecerant "Scoti

" reſtore the Engliſh exiles to their eſtates." In memory of this tranſaction, and in order to fix the boundaries of the two kingdoms, a croſs ſtone was erected in the mountains of Stanmore in Yorkſhire, with the arms of both kings engraved upon it, which the Engliſh called *Rerecroſs*, and the Scots *Reicroſs*, or Royal Croſs, the remains of which was to be ſeen even in Camden's days.

The ſtipulation made in favour of the Engliſh fugitives, was highly ſeaſonable on this occaſion; as the humanity and hoſpitality of Malcolm had encouraged vaſt numbers of them to take ſhelter in his dominions,

F 3

" Scoti, cum exercitu copioſo et navibus multis in " Scotiam profectus eſt, procul miſſis ad eum nunciis " rogavit rex Malcolmus ea quæ pacis ſunt, ſciens ſe " non poſſe dimicare cum eo; occurritque ei in loco, " qui dicitur Abernithii, et *homo ſuus devenit*, FACTO " HOMAGIO, et datis obſidibus multis, reverſuſque eſt " Wilhelmus, uſque Dunkelmum, ubi Caſtellum de " novo conſtruxit." Hemingford, cap. vi. p. 459. Gale's edit.—The annals of Waverly corroborate this account, but leave the article of homage as indeterminate as Hemingford, as appears from the following extract: " Sexto namque anno Willielmi Regis duxit " idem rex exercitum per terram et per mare in Sco- " tiam, et eam ex parte maris cum puppibus obſedit et " exercitum ſuum per terram apud Scadwade intra- " duxit, et ibi nihil invenit unde melius eſſet; rex vero " Malcolm venit contra eum, et concordatus eſt cum eo, " et dedit illi obſides, et *homo ſuus devenit.*" *Annales, Waverl. ad Ann.* MLXXII. Gale's edit. vol. II. pag. 131.

nions, where they were retained by intermarriages with the natives, and having obtained settlements, were founders of the most * illustrious families in that nation.

The treaty between Malcolm and William being secured by hostages, and an article added, whereby Edgar Atheling was obliged to return home, make his submission to William, and renounce his claim to the crown, on condition of receiving a † maintenance from him: William broke up his camp and marched to Durham, where he built a castle for the defence of the place. On ‡ his return he deprived Gospatric of the

* From the noble personages who made Scotland their asylum at this time, are derived the families of Lindsay, Tower, Ramsay, Preston, Sandiland, Bisset, Wardlow, Maxwell, Fowlis, and Lovell. About the same time several persons came from Hungary, at the request of queen Margaret, whose surnames were Crighton, or Crichton, Fotheringham, and Borthwick. From France and Normandy came likewise the founders of the families of Giffard, Melvil, Fraser, Sinclair, or St. Clair, Borwell, Montgomery, Campbell, Boise, Beton, Talzuoir, and Bothwel.

† The annotator of the complete History of England observes, that our historians say his allowance was a pound of silver a day, and that Sir John Hayward estimates it at twenty shillings. But such was the easy simplicity of this prince, that, taking a fancy to a fine horse belonging to William, he purchased it by the surrender of his pension.

‡ The king's stay at Durham was but short, which Simeon of Durham accounts for in a manner that gives

the earldom of Northumberland, under a pretence that he had been an accomplice in the

gives us a ſtrong idea of the bigotry, ſimplicity and credulity of the age, wherein he wrote. According to him, "William entertaining ſome ſcruples of the "ſaintſhip, at leaſt of the reality of St. Cuthbert's "body's being in that place, ordered his ſhrine to be "ſearched. No ſooner were his orders put in execu- "tion, than he was ſeized with a feveriſh heat, which "flung him into a profuſe ſweat, attended with an "inexpreſſible horrour. The chaplains being ordered "on this account to deſiſt from their ſearch, he im- "mediately took horſe, and galloping till he paſſed the "Tees, found his fever abate in proportion as his "diſtance from the ſhrine increaſed, and entirely "over when he had got out of the lands belonging to "the biſhopric." Walter de Hemingford has given us a relation of this pretended miracle, almoſt in the ſame words as thoſe of Durham, as the learned reader may perceive. "Quia multi de ſuis non credebant beatum "Cuthbertum eſſe ſanctum vel corpus ſuum non "ibi eſſe integrum, præcepit rex in ipſo feſto omnium "Sanctorum, celebrante epiſcopo loci illius miſſam "eadem die, ut duo capellani de ſuis ingrederentur et "viderent corpus et palparent. Diſpoſuerat (*forſan "depoſuerat*) autem rex quod ſi ſanctum corpus non "inveniretur, omnes majores natu ejuſdem provin- "ciæ detruncarentur. Sed mutavit DEUS propoſitum "ſuum, ſtatim namque correptus rex cœpit ineſti- "mabili æſtu fatigari, nimirumque ſudare, et horrore "nimio concuti. Moxque mittens ad capellanos eos- "dem imperavit, ne quoquo modo præſumerent attin- "gere ad ſepulchrum: confertimque equum aſcendens, "non deſtitit urgere curſum, donec Theſiam videret et "tranſiret, eo quod moderatus ille calor nondum "prius quieſceret ad plenum." *Hemingford*, c. xi.

Thoſe

the murder of earl Robert at Durham, and had carried on a correſpondence with the rebels. The earl retiring to Scotland was at firſt made earl of Dunbarty by Malcolm, and afterwards enfeofed of all Allerdale by Ranulf de Merchinis, and ſome other eſtates by the conqueror himſelf. The earldom of of Northumberland was granted by William to earl Waltheof, to whom it belonged by birth, in right of his father as well as his mother, he being the ſon of earl Siward by Alfreda, the daughter of earl Aldred.

* Philip, king of France, could not but envy the proſperity of William in his wars with

Thoſe who are acquainted with the hiſtory of diſeaſes, may eaſily account for the ſymptoms of William's diſorder and the cure of it, without having recourſe to a miracle for that purpoſe.

* A. D. 1073. In order to give the reader a clear idea of the cauſes which gave riſe to the revolt of the Mançeaux, we are under a neceſſity to retrace ſome tranſactions in the Norman hiſtory. Hebert, count of Le Maine, was ſo harraſſed by Geffry Martel, count of Anjou, that he reſolved to free himſelf from his attacks by throwing himſelf into the arms of the duke of Normandy, by owning him for his lord, and declaring him his heir, if he died without iſſue. Hebert, at his death, having no children, renewed his declaration; but the nobility of the country being averſe to the Norman yoke, acknowledged Walter, count of Mante and Pontoiſe, who had married Biota the eldeſt ſiſter of Hebert's father, for their lord, and put him in poſſeſſion of Le Mans, together with all the reſt of the province. William, thinking himſelf injured

with the Engliſh; his activity, and the increaſe of his power rendered him too formidable for a vaſſal, and too powerful for an enemy. During the troubles in this iſland, he attacked the duchy of Normandy without any previous declaration of war. At the ſame time, Fulk, count of Anjou, having ſome pretenſions to Le Maine in right of his wife Herembourg, ſpirited up the inhabitants to a revolt. The town and caſtle of Le Mans were taken, and Godfrey de Mayenne, with moſt of the gentry, joining the malecontents, the Normans were driven entirely out of the country.

As ſoon as the commotions in this iſland were quieted, William raiſed a conſiderable body

injured by this action of the Manceaux, entered their country with a great army, took Mans, and ſeveral other places, after an obſtinate defence. Godfrey of Mayenne, being ſupported by ſeveral of the nobility, gave him frequent alarms, 'till William had reduced the caſtles of Humbieres and Mayenne, and thereby obliged him to ſubmit to his arms. In order to reconcile the people of this province to his government, and promote a good underſtanding between them and the Normans, William propoſed a marriage between his eldeſt ſon Robert, and Margaret, ſiſter to the late count Hebert, whom he ſent for from her retreat in Germany; but the lady dying, before ſhe was marrigeable, this deſign was rendered abortive. This circumſtance happened about three or four years before the conqueſt of England, and the province had from that time remained quiet under William's government, 'till the year mentioned in the beginning of this note.

body of forces *, with which he paſſed into Normandy, in order to quell this inſurrection. His army, when joined by ſome levies made on the continent, amounted to fifty thouſand men, and enabled him to overrun the country of Le Main with little or no reſiſtance. After the reduction of the caſtles of Freſnay, Beaumont le Vicomte, and Silly, he advanced to the capital, which he ſummoned to ſurrender, threatening to burn the town, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, if they offered to make the leaſt defence. The beſieged, terrified with his menaces, ſurrendered the town the next day; and gaining his pardon on account of their ſubmiſſion, the whole country followed their example. The army of a conqueror is not eaſily reſtrained from exceſſes; that of William is charged with this reproach, and † repreſented

* Rapin, and ſome other modern hiſtorians, repreſent this army as conſiſting intirely of Engliſhmen, 'till joined by the forces levied in Normandy, which contradicts the accounts given by moſt, if not all our ancient hiſtorians. The Saxon annals, Huntingdon and Brompton, inform us, "that William carried the Engliſh and "French beyond ſea." Malmeſbury indeed, and Simeon of Durham aſſert, "that he reduced Mans, by an auxi-"liary army he carried over from England:" but this is far from a poſitive aſſertion that his army *wholly* conſiſted of Engliſh.

† Matth. Paris deſcribes their petty injuries in the following manner: "Angli in hac expeditione, urbes, "vicos & vineas cum frugibus depopulantes, omnem "pro-

preſented as deſtroying the vineyards, and as weakening and impoveriſhing the country to ſo great a degree, that it did not recover itſelf 'till ſome years afterwards.

Fulk, finding himſelf unable to withſtand the united forces of England and Normandy, applied to Hoel, count of Bretagne, for ſuccours; and at the head of a brave army of Britons and Anjouvins, inveſted La Fleche, the lord of which place was in alliance with William. The king advanced to the relief of the town, and both armies were preparing to engage, when two cardinals interpoſed their mediation, and prevented a battle *.

A peace

" provinciam debiliorem ſimul et pauperiorem multo " poſt tempore reliquerunt." *Matt. Paris*, p. 7.

* The advantageous repreſentation which our old hiſtorians have given of the Engliſh valour on this occaſion, is blended with lamentations at their not exerting it as remarkably in vindication of their liberty, as in ſubduing foreign countries. Fond of conquering, for a man who had ſtripped them of all their eſtates, and deſtroyed, baniſhed, or reduced their nobility to a ſtate of vaſſalage, they were ambitious of making a figure abroad, and ridiculouſly vain in laviſhing their blood to maintain the poſſeſſions of their enſlaver. England had hitherto, after the departure of the Romans, enjoyed the benefit of being an iſland, had lived in peace with her neighbours, and never embarked in any foreign war upon the continent: thus at liberty to carry on her commerce, ſhe heaped up thoſe riches, which made her the admiration, the envy, and the amazement of foreigners. But this expedition into the Le Maine, introduced her into wars abroad, which, continuing as long

A peace was made at Bruyers, on condition that the rebels on both sides should be pardoned, and that Fulk should resign all his pretensions to Le Main in favour of the conquerour's son Robert, excepting the right of homage, which Robert paid him on the spot.

Edgar Atheling, tired with living like a fugitive in a foreign country, and thirsting after the sweets of uninterrupted peace, came to the king not long after this transaction, made his submission, renounced his title to the English crown, was received into favour, and had a settled maintenance allowed him from William *.

During William's stay at Normandy, a considerable revolution happened in the church, which it will not be amiss to give an

long as her kings had any territories on the continent, drained her of her treasure, exhausted her of her youth, and involved her in distress.

* "About this time Waltheof signalized himself "for his filial duty, by an action which wanted no- "thing but sincerity to render it laudable. The sons "of one Carle, having conspired against the life of "Aldred his grandfather, and put him to death, Wal- "theof waited a proper opportunity for revenge, and "dissembled his anger. One day, as they were all of "them feasting together at Settrington, Waltheof "took the opportunity to put his revenge in execution, "and, sending a party of horse, surprized them in "the midst of their jollity, and put them all to the "sword." *Sim. Durham. Hoveden.*

a hint of it in this place. On the death of Alexander there was no ſmall diſſenſion in the conclave, which flamed ſo high, that two popes were elected at the ſame time, who were each of them acknowledged by different powers. Hildebrand, named Gregory VII. was recognized by the kings of France and England, while Guibert, called Clement, was acknowledged by the emperour. Hildebrand was no ſooner ſettled in the papal chair, than he diſcovered himſelf to be a perſon of inordinate ambition and extraordinary inſolence. Determined to make William pay for the countenance he had given him, he ſent one of his Nuncio's to him with letters; wherein he inſiſted on his doing homage to him for the kingdom of England as a fief of the Roman ſee, and demanded the arrears of Romeſcot, which had not been paid for ſome years.

The anſwer which William made to this inſolent demand was worthy of the king of England. He refuſed to do fealty to the pope, and ſtrengthened his refuſal by appealing to the conduct of his anceſtors, who had never left him a precedent *. As for

* This letter, which is a curioſity in its kind, deſerves the peruſal of the Engliſh reader. It was tranſcribed by the learned Selden, from a manuſcript collection of Lanfranc's epiſtles, and publiſhed in his notes on Eadmer's hiſtory. "Excellentiſſimo ſanctæ "Eccleſiæ paſtori Gregorio, gratia Dei Anglorum rex "et

the demand of Romescot he consented to the payment of it, sent him what he had collected by his Nuncio, and promised to transmit him the remainder by Lanfranc's legate, as soon as it was convenient. The Nuncio, finding William refractory to the demands of his holiness, had recourse to menaces, and threatened him with the censure of the church for non-compliance. This behaviour had so little effect on William, that he

" et dux Normannorum Willielmus, salutem cum amicitia. Hubertus legatus tuus, religiose pater, ad me veniens ex tua parte me admonuit, quatenus tibi et successoribus tu s fidelitatem facerem et de pecunia, quam antecessores mei ad Romanam ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitarem. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promisi nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio. Pecunia tribus ferme annis, in Gallia me agente, negligenter collecta est. Nunc vero divina misericordia me in regnum meum reverso, quod collectum est per præfatum mittitur. Et quod reliquum est per legatos Lanfranci archiepiscopi fidelis nostri, cum opportunum fuerit, transmittetur. Orate pro nobis et pro Statu regni nostri, quia antecessores vestros dileximus et vos, præ omnibus, sincere deligere, et obedienter audire desideramus." *Selden*, p. 1631. That the English reader may enjoy his share of pleasure in the perusal of so extraordinary an epistle, we present him with the following literal translation.

" To the most excellent Gregory, pastor of the holy church, William by the grace of GOD, king of England and duke of Normandy, sendeth greeting. Hubert, your Nuncio, coming unto me in your behalf,

he publiſhed an edict, prohibiting all his ſubjects to recognize any perſon for Pope without his approbation, or to receive any order from Rome without his permiſſion.

G 2 The

" behalf, adviſed me to do fealty to you and your ſuc-
" ceſſors, and to take more care in making good
" the payments of money which my predeceſſors uſed
" to remit to the church of Rome. One of theſe I
" have conſented to, but have refuſed the other. As
" for fealty, it it what I never have done, nor will
" do; becauſe I neither obliged myſelf to perform
" it by any promiſe made by myſelf, nor do I find
" my predeceſſors ever performed it to yours. As for
" the money it was collected in a very bad manner,
" for almoſt three years, during my abſence in France.
" But now I am, by God's mercy, returned to my
" kingdom, I have ſent by the Nuncio abovemen-
" tioned, what is already collected: as for the re-
" mainder, it ſhall be ſent, when convenient, by the
" legates of Lanfranc, our truſty archbiſhop. We
" beg your prayers for ourſelves and the welfare of our
" kingdom, having born a great regard for your pre-
" deceſſors, and being deſirous of approving our affec-
" tion and obedience to you above all others." This letter contained in it a thunder, which drowned that of the Vatican, and convinced the Pope, that William would admit no maſter in civil affairs, though he ſhould acknowledge the Pope's ſupremacy in ſpirituals. Before we conclude this note, we are under an obligation to own to the reader, that we have been guilty of an error in the text, when we aſſert, that the application to William was received, and rejected by him in Normandy; whereas it appears from the letter itſelf, that he was returned to England before he wrote, or refuſed to do fealty. This error we were drawn into by following the ſtream of former hiſtorians too cloſely; and

The long abſence of the king in Normandy gave riſe to a conſpiracy in England, which was carrying on by perſons, whom he could leaſt ſuſpect of diſaffection. The principal were Normans, who had been particularly enriched by his bounties, and had received ſingular marks of his favour. Roger, the youngeſt ſon of William Fitzoſborn *, who ſucceeded to his Engliſh eſtate, and the earldom of Hereford, had made an application to William before his departure, either by way of compliment, or in compliance with ſome obligation of the feudal law, for his conſent to the marriage of his ſiſter with Ralph de Guair, earl of the Eaſt Angles. The king had flatly refuſed his conſent, but the

and thoſe who compile on hiſtory only from former writers, without conſulting manuſcripts, and original records, may be found tripping oftener than ourſelves.

* William Fitzoſborn left two ſons, the elder of which bearing his father's name, ſucceeded to Breteuil, Paſſy, Yvry, and all his lands in Normandy. This Roger the younger ſon, enjoyed all his eſtate in England, together with the earldom of Hereford. Hence it was that the ſame laws, which were obſerved in Normandy, were introduced into Hereford after the conqueſt. Ralph de Guair, who married Roger's ſiſter, ſeems to have been the ſon of Ralph, who was earl of that county in the reigns of Edward the Confeſſor and Harold, and was a nobleman of Daniſh extraction, by an heireſs of Bretagne, who brought him the caſtle of Doll, Guaden or Guaire, Montfort and other lands near Rennes in that province.

the parties were ſo far engaged to each other, that they would not break off the match. As they could not ſafely ſolemnize their nuptials, while William was preſent, they took the opportunity to conſummate it in his abſence. The marriage was celebrated at Exning, near Newmarket in Suffolk, and a great number of biſhops, abbots, barons, and military officers were invited upon the occaſion. Among the other gueſts Waltheof, the new created earl of Northumberland was preſent. The principals well knew they had gone too far to expect any mercy from William, and as they had given him an unpardonable affront they were reſolved never to *forgive* him. With this diſpoſition they made uſe of the preſent opportunity to raiſe a formidable rebellion againſt him, and when the company was well-heated with liquour, they diſcovered their intentions. "They began with inveighing againſt William's government, which they repreſented as tyrannical, and recounted the various acts of cruelty he had committed in Normandy. They particularly expatiated upon his baniſhing William de Warlene, count of Mortain, for an unguarded expreſſion, and his giving his lands to Robert, his mother Arlette's ſon by Herluin de Conteville; his poiſoning Walter count of Mart, nephew to Edward the Confeſ-

" ſor and his wife Biota, at Falaiſe, toge-
" ther with Conan, count of Bretagne, at
" Vimontier." Pretending to pity the Engliſh, who from being always a free people were now reduced to a ſhameful ſervitude, " they dwelt very much upon
" William's uſurping the crown, his ba-
" niſhing and putting to death the nobility
" of the kingdom, his ſtripping others of
" their eſtates, and his impoveriſhing all his
" ſubjects." To give their diſcourſe a greater weight they repreſented it as unworthy of men of ſpirit, of courage, of honour, to ſuffer theſe injuries from a baſtard; " a baſtard embroiled in foreign wars, and
" hated by his own children, who were
" ready to take the field to free themſelves
" from his oppreſſion."

* The company who were pretty warm with wine, were eaſily inflamed by theſe invectives, and in the rage of good fellowſhip, unanimouſly agreed to take up arms and oppoſe the king's return. † Waltheof, being

* Tyrrel places this tranſaction in A. D. 1076, the annals of Waverly in A. D. 1075. and Matt. Paris in A. D. 1074.

† This relation is ſupported by Flor. of Worceſter, William of Malmeſbury, Hen. Huntingdon, Sim. of Durham, Holinſhed, Stow, Speed, Tyrrel, Rapin and Smollet. Carte has given us a different account, wherein he endeavours to exculpate Waltheof, which we ſhall tranſcribe for the reader's amuſement, and ſubmit to his

ing as much intoxicated with wine as the reſt, joined in the conſpiracy, without any conſideration of the conſequences; but the next day when the fumes of his debauch were diſperſed, he plainly perceived he had been guilty of a very raſh action. On reflecting cooly on the conſequences of the conſpiracy, he found that let it take what turn it would he was likely to be a loſer. If it ſucceeded, he foreſaw that his country would be expoſed to a number of tyrants, inſtead of a ſingle one; if the conſpiracy ſhould be cruſhed, he was certain, that being an Engliſhman, he would be the chief object of William's reſentment, though the reſt of the conſpirators had ſome chance of being reconciled on account of their being Normans. But what chiefly operated upon his mind, were the motives of gratitude. He could not but own that he was obliged to William for conſiderable favours, as he had not only pardoned him, but diſtinguiſhed him with particular marks of his confidence and eſteem.

Theſe reflections making him heartily ſorry for his having ſo raſhly engaged in the plot, he thought the beſt atonement he could make

his judgment. "Waltheof, ſays our author, only "oppoſing the conſpiracy, was offered all the North "for his ſhare of the realm, the reſt being divided be-"tween Ralph and Roger; he ſtill refuſed his con-"currence on account of his great obligations to the "conqueror, but promiſed to keep the ſecret inviolable."

make would be to discover it to Lanfranc the archbishop of Canterbury. In his interview with the primate he palliated his rashness, by informing him that "he was "so much overcome with liquour at the "time he had engaged with the conspira-"tors, that he was not in a condition to "reflect on what was proposed to him; that "he was heartily sorry for his crime, and "begged him to use his interest with the "king in his favour, and endeavour by his "intercession to procure him a pardon." Lanfranc, after having enjoined him penance, advised him to go over to Normandy, where he discovered the whole plot to William, and met with a favourable reception. The conspirators being unacquainted with this nobleman's desertion, concerted such measures for the execution of their enterprize as seemed to promise success. Emissaries were sent to Denmark, where Ralph had great interest, in order to procure succours from the Danes *. The inveterate hatred

* Carte, from Ordericus Vitalis, asserts that the conspiracy was discovered before the Danes arrived to support it, perhaps by some of the conspirators, but in the general opinion of writers, by Waltheof; who, either out of a scruple of conscience, in which he was very delicate, or by the persuasions of his wife, to whom he might perhaps in confidence impart it, and upon whom his ruin is positively charged, revealed the whole design to Lanfranc.

tred which Swein had always born againſt William and his perſeverance in taking all meaſures to diſtreſs him, made them confident that he would aſſiſt them to his utmoſt. They entertained no ſmall expectations from his aſſiſtance, becauſe a great part of the inhabitants of this iſland were of the ſame extraction, and the alliances they had in England were ſo numerous that they could not fail of being well received and joined on their coming over. It was ſtipulated that all the conſpirators ſhould riſe in their ſeveral quarters, and unite their forces as ſoon as the Danes appeared off the coaſt, in order to give the inſurrection an appearance of a general revolt, and to intimidate the Normans from making any reſiſtance. The Welch were likewiſe invited to accede to their alliance, and being a brave and hardy people inſpired the malecontents with great hopes of ſucceſs.

The delays which hindered the Daniſh ſuccours from coming over, made the confederates impatient; and the departure of Waltheof raiſing ſuſpicions that their plot was diſcovered, they raſhly took the field before the Daniſh forces could arrive. They who were joined with the Welch, burnt and pillaged ſeveral of the king's towns; and would have over-run the country, had they not

not been oppoſed by the governors of the caſtles with their reſpective garriſons.

Roger Fitzoſborn, and Ralph de Guaire, the two chiefs of the conſpiracy, took up arms as ſoon as Waltheof diſappeared. Roger put his forces in motion towards the Severn, in order to paſs that river, and join thoſe of Ralph; but Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter; Urſo, high ſherif of the county; Agelwin, abbot of Eveſham; and Walter de Lacey, a great baron of Herefordſhire, being apprized of his deſign, were ready with a great body of forces, and prevented his paſſage over the river. Ralph having levied a body of forces in Northumberland and Suffolk, advanced into the neighbourhood of Cambridge; but being there met by Odo and Geoffrey, biſhops of Bayeux and Coutances, was defeated at Fagadun, many of his followers being ſlain in the field. The priſoners taken on this occaſion, which were very numerous, had their right foot cut off by way of puniſhment. * The earl, thus finding his expectations fruſtrated, retired to Norwich; which being immediately inveſted by the king's forces, he

* This account is ſupported by the authority of the Saxon annals, Matth. Paris, and other ancient authors: though others, among which is Rapin, have repreſented this application as the firſt that was made to the court of Denmark.

he ſtole away into Denmark, in order to expedite the ſuccours for which he had already applied.

On his departure, he entruſted the caſtle to the care of his wife, and left in it a ſtrong garriſon of Britons, under a commander of approved valour. Though the caſtle was defended with great obſtinacy by his counteſs, for ſome time after his departure, ſhe was at laſt obliged to capitulate for want of proviſions, and take an oath that ſhe would quit the iſland for life.

In the mean while the Danes, at the inſtigation of her huſband, came with a fleet of two hundred ſail, command by Canute, the king's ſon, and earl Haco. They entered the mouth of the Thames; but the commanders * finding the meaſures of the conſpirators broken, their party diſheartened by their late defeat, the king's forces ready to oppoſe their landing, and a powerful fleet eager to engage them by ſea; or † elſe bribed by William's money, for which Haco was

* This account is ſupported by Polydore Virgil, and Matt. Paris.

† William of Malmeſbury is of this opinion in his third book. Adam Bremenſis is ſo explicite on this point, that we cannot help citing his own words, "There was an obſtinate animoſity between Swein "and the Baſtard, though our biſhops, who were cor-"rupted by *bribes*, endeavoured to reconcile the two "kings."

was after his return baniſhed, they retired to Flanders without attempting to make a deſcent. Ralph, who is reported to have been in this fleet, repaired to his eſtate in Bretagne, where he was ſoon after joined by his wife, and the garriſon from the caſtle of Norwich.

As ſoon as William received intelligence of theſe commotions, he prepared to return; even at a time when he had grounds to ſuſpect an inſurrection in his native dominions of Normandy. The dread he always had of the power and inveterate hatred of the Danes, the experience he had had of the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, and the uncertainty he was under with reſpect to the nature of the conſpiracy, or the number of the conſpirators, induced him to quit Normandy, though expoſed to danger, that he might ſecure England, which was an acquiſition worthy his regard. He came over in autumn, and met with a ready ſubmiſſion from ſuch of the rebels as his juſticiaries were not able to reduce; among theſe was earl Roger, who made a diſcovery of the plot with all its circumſtances. As this nobleman was nearly related to William, and his father's merits pleaded ſtrongly in his behalf, the king only confiſcated his eſtate, and committed him to priſon during his pleaſure. In all appearance he would have releaſed

releaſed him the Eaſter following, if he had not been guilty of an act of inſolence, which incenſed him. The king ſent him about this time a ſilk waiſtcoat, a cloth coat embroidered with gold, and a mantle lined with ermin. The earl, inſtead of receiving theſe preſents with that degree of civility which was due to the donor, in a fit of reſentment flung them into the fire, in the preſence of the bearer, and let fall ſome very acrimonious expreſſions againſt the king; who, being highly provoked at his inſolence, ſwore that he never ſhould have his liberty as long as he lived. The reſt of the conſpirators, of leſs note, were either baniſhed the realm, had their eyes put out, their hands cut off, or were executed on the gallows.

If the execution of theſe malecontents expoſed William to the cenſures of the Engliſh, or occaſioned univerſal ſorrow in the nation; the manner in which he behaved towards Waltheof, ſubjected him to greater reproaches, and made his adminiſtration extremely odious. Notwithſtanding the candour with which this nobleman had behaved in diſcovering the plot, he was tried for being an accomplice, upon the information of his own wife; who is ſuppoſed to have been inſtigated to ſo perfidious an action, from having fixed her eye on a perſon whom ſhe wiſhed to have for her ſecond huſband. The

judges, appointed to take his examination, met ſeveral times without coming to any deciſion. During this interval Waltheof was kept under cloſe confinement, where he paſſed his time in an exemplary manner, as a true penitent and a good chriſtian. Lanfranc, in the mean while, uſed all his intereſt at court in his behalf, but met not with that ſucceſs which his intimacy with the king gave grounds to expect. Among other things that made againſt Waltheof, was his being an Engliſhman; his having a large eſtate, which Ivo de Taillebois, and other Normans, wiſhed to ſhare among themſelves; and a wife that wanted to get rid of him, as her obſtacle to another match ſhe had in view. For theſe reaſons, Waltheof's innocence was inſufficient to protect him from the malice of his enemies; and, being brought to his trial, he was condemned to be beheaded. After a long confinement, he was taken out of the priſon, very early in the morning, by the Normans, who were under apprehenſions of his eſcape, or ſuſpicious of a reſcue; and being led without the walls of Wincheſter, was beheaded on a hill, whereon St. Giles's church was afterwards erected *. His corpſe was at firſt thrown

* In juſtice to the remains of ſo great a man, we cannot help giving the reader ſome deſcription of his perſon, and ſome outlines of his character. "He was tall

thrown into a ditch; but, a fortnight afterwards, was removed to the chapter-houſe of Croyland: after which he was conſidered as a martyr, and ſeveral miracles being report-

" tall, luſty, but well proportioned, of remarkable " ſtrength, and of inextinguiſhable courage; though " he was daring, yet he never was imprudent; and " though devout, always thought the practice of the " ſocial virtues of beneficence and charity, to be a " conſiderable part of his duty. He was very liberal " to the monks, and univerſally beloved by all that " knew him." His popularity was ſo great, that a private execution ſeemed neceſſary; it being almoſt certain that, had it been more public, he would have been reſcued. The great character this nobleman bore after his death as a ſaint and a martyr, contributed not a little to render his wife Judith univerſally abhorred; and having incurred the diſpleaſure of her uncle, ſhe fell unpitied into misfortunes. William would have married her to a Norman nobleman, called Simon de Senlis, who was lame in one leg; and upon her refuſal, either becauſe ſhe deſpiſed him for his infirmity, or was preingaged to another, he ſeized her lands and gave them to Simon, with the titles of earl of Huntingdon and Northampton. Judith, apprehenſive that the king's diſpleaſure would not ſtop here, fled with the two daughters ſhe had by earl Waltheof, wandering from place to place, every where deſpiſed, and continuing a widow during the reſt of her life. Her remorſe for the treachery ſhe had been guilty of to her huſband, was too viſible to be concealed; but though her penitence was great, the pity ſhe met with on that account was but ſmall. Simon, whom ſhe had refuſed for her own huſband, afterwards married Mathilda, her eldeſt daughter, and enjoyed a great part of her late huſband's eſtate.

ed to be performed at his tomb, he was by the abbot and monks cried up for a ſaint. William looking upon this compliment paid to the remains of Waltheof as an oblique ſatire upon himſelf, was ſo much incenſed againſt the abbot, that he depoſed him and put Ingulph into his place.

Though the Engliſh were not concerned in the late conſpiracy, and had refuſed to join the malecontents, they could not eſcape the king's reſentment. William taking it for granted that they had privately encouraged the late inſurrection, deprived ſome of their eſtates and others of their liberty. Malmeſbury's obſervation on the reign of king Edward the confeſſor, might be juſtly ſaid to be verified in this; "That England "was become an habitation and dominion "of foreigners;" and, at the time he wrote, there was no native original Engliſhman, inveſted with the titles of earl, biſhop, or abbot. The ſeverity of the conqueror was indeed ſo great, that his own hiſtorian could not help dating the period of our ſervitude, from this remarkable æra.

* William having thus extinguiſhed every ſpark of rebellion, by the puniſhment of the conſpirators, paſſed the ſea with an intent to purſue Ralph de Guair into Normandy, and take ample revenge for the troubles he had raiſed

* A. D. 1075.

raiſed in England. He inveſted the city of Dol, and, thinking that it muſt inevitably fall into his hands, raſhly ſwore that he would not quit the ſiege till he had reduced it. Though his aſſaults were carried on with great vigour, the beſieged defended themſelves in ſuch a gallant manner that all his attacks were fruitleſs. Having received intelligence that Philip, king of France, was advancing with the united forces of his own kingdom, and thoſe of Bretagne, to the relief of the town, he raiſed the ſiege; and, notwithſtanding his raſh oath, retired with ſo much precipitation, that he left his tents ſtanding and all his baggage behind him. William having loſt great numbers of men at the ſiege, and ſeeing very little probability of ſucceeding againſt Hoel, count of Bretagne, whom Ralph de Guair had engaged in his quarrel, he entered into a negociation with him, and a peace was afterwards concluded at Bayeux. The principal article of this treaty was the marriage of Conſtance, William's daughter, with Alan Fargant, Hoel's eldeſt ſon: and the nuptials were ſolemnized at Caen, with great magnificence.

William, having ſtaid till the conſummation of this marriage, returned once more to England to reap the fruits of his wiſdom, his fortitude, his patience, and his experi-

ence. * Scarce had he begun to taſte the ſweets of peace, and the pleaſures of tranquillity, when a domeſtic thorn was thruſt into his boſom; which filled him with new anxieties, and expoſed him again to a variety of difficulties.

Robert, his eldeſt ſon, called, on account of the ſhortneſs of his legs, Gambaron, or Courtes-huſes, is ſuſpected to have been the ſecret authour of the revolt among the Mançeaux, and to have inſtigated ſome Norman gentlemen to join them, in order to compel his father to put him in poſſeſſion of the county of Maine and the duchy of Normandy.

When the people of Maine made their firſt ſubmiſſion to William, a few years before the conqueſt, it was ſtipulated that Robert ſhould marry Margaret, the ſiſter of count Hebert, and in her right enjoy that county. When the duke was at the court of France, ſolliciting ſuccours for his Engliſh expedition, he promiſed, in the preſence of king Philip, to reſign Normandy to Robert; with a view to obviate any objections the French might raiſe on account of the exorbitant power of their vaſſal, from ſuch an acquiſition as the kingdom of England. William, afterwards, being dangerouſly ill, renewed his promiſes, declared Robert

* A. D. 1076.

Robert his heir, and made the barons of Normandy and Maine do him homage.

* After the conqueſt, Robert, at the inſtigation of thoſe about him, called upon his father to perform his promiſe, but was anſwered by him that "he never uſed to "ſtrip till he went to bed, and that he "ought to wait till his deceaſe."

This anſwer, though a ſevere check to one of † Robert's temper, did not remove the reſtraints of filial duty, nor would it have involved him in any act of diſobedience,

* From Daniel's hiſtory of France, Vol. III. and other ancient authors.

† This prince was full-faced, fat, ſhort, but very robuſt; he was of a turbulent, imperious, and reſtleſs diſpoſition; fond of power, and full of vanity; he had a great command of words, but was too fond of ſpeaking; he was brave to a degree of daring, but was inconſtant in all his determinations; he was a perſon of great generoſity, but extravagant in all his expences; he behaved with the greateſt civility and good nature, and, by the politeneſs of his addreſs, gained on the affections of all the young perſons whom he honoured with his converſation. He was remarkable for his ſkill in archery, and was no leſs expert in all martial exerciſes; he made the military art his chief ſtudy, and was eſteemed ſuperior to any of his cotemporaries in the command of an army. Richard, his brother, who was a prince of great hopes, had been unfortunately killed by a ſtag, or the branch of a tree, as he was hunting in the new foreſt. William had ſtill two other ſons, named Rufus and Henry, who were more ſubmiſſive to their father, but jealous of the growing power and deſigns of Robert their brother.

ence, had not his bold, ambitious, and enterprizing diſpoſition, been inflamed by the inſtigation of ſeveral * young noblemen, and ſtill more incenſed by an affront he received from his brothers.

William and Henry, diverting themſelves at a houſe in Richer l'Aigle, among other boyiſh tricks, flung water at each other, which, paſſing out of the window, fell upon Robert, who was walking upon the terras under it, in company with ſome of the principal nobility of Normandy. Robert, who conſidered this as a puerile frolic of his brothers, laughed at it, and would have put it off as a jeſt; but Ivo and Alberic, the ſons of Hugh de Grente-Meſnil, who had been deprived of their father's eſtate by the conqueror, repreſented it as an intollerable inſolence; telling him it was done deſignedly, and that he was obliged in honour to reſent it as an affront, unleſs he had a mind to be trampled upon by every body. Robert, inflamed by theſe ſuggeſtions, immediately drew his ſword, and, running up ſtairs with Ivo and Alberic, attacked his brothers with great fury. Had not the father, who was in the neighbourhood, immediately interpoſed his authority, this affair would have been productive of great miſchief.

Though

* Their names will ſoon be found in the ſequel of this ſtory.

Though William put a ſtop to the quarrel for the preſent, he could not extinguiſh the animoſity which burnt in their boſoms.

Robert and his friends withdrawing from the army in the middle of the night, went to Rouen with a view of ſurprizing the caſtle; but Roger d'Ivery ſuſpecting a rebellion, had previouſly taken ſuch meaſures as defeated their deſign.

The king being apprized of this daring attempt, ordered all that were concerned in it to be puniſhed; ſome of whom being apprehended, were impriſoned; and the reſt, who fled, were received by Hugh de Neuf-Chatel into his caſtles, from whence they made excurſions all over the country. Among others of the young nobility, who adhered to Robert on this occaſion, were Grente-Meſnils, Robert de Beleſme, Ralph de Conches, Robert de Mowbray, Robert ſon of Richard de Bienfaite, together with the barons de Moulins and de la Perrieree, who had their eſtates confiſcated. The gentry of Bretagne, Anjou, and Maine, ran to arms on the firſt alarm, without knowing for what reaſon; and, on that account, ſome of them ſided with the father, while others joined the ſon.

The war between William and his ſon, conſiſted rather of ſkirmiſhes than battles, and was maintained for three years, with ſome

ſome few reſpites of truce and accommodation. In one of theſe intervals William returned to England, but, in his abſence, the war broke out afreſh in Normandy.

Philip, who was jealous of the power of William, fomented this quarrel in ſecret, encouraged Robert with magnificent promiſes, but aſſiſted him only with ſuch ſuccours, as might enable him to keep the war alive, but not ſufficient to make him maſter of the duchy. Robert likewiſe received conſiderable remittances of money from his mother, whoſe favourite he was; and found likewiſe conſiderable reſources in the friendſhip of the Norman lords, who had a very great affection for him.

William diſcovering the various reſources which enabled his ſon to maintain the war againſt him, was not a little embarraſſed. In order to extricate himſelf from his difficulties, he raiſed an army conſiſting entirely of Engliſh, which he tranſported to Normandy. This reinforcement, when joined with the army William had in theſe parts, was too great for Robert to oppoſe in the field, who was obliged to retire at their approach. In this period of diſtreſs the prince made his application to the court of France, for a place of ſafety, in order to make good his retreat. Philip being unwilling to come to an open rupture with William, and at the ſame time obliged in honour to aſſiſt the prince,

prince, whom he had plunged into a war by promiſes of ſuccour, thought of an expedient whereby he could make good his engagements with the ſon, without incurring the reſentment of the father. For this purpoſe he engaged the Vidame Helie to admit Robert into Gerberoy, a ſtrong fortreſs in the Beauvoiſis.

In this place Robert was joined by a great number of French noblemen, who were fond of ſignalizing their courage under his command, and, according to ſome authours, made up an army of two thouſand men. * From hence the prince made incurſions into Vexin Norman and the Pays de Caux, which he ravaged with great cruelty, putting all that oppoſed him to the ſword, burning the towns, and raiſing contributions wherever he went.

† In order to put a ſtop to theſe outrages, William took the field in the depth of winter,

* *Paris*'s deſcription is thus; "Robertus magnam "frequenter in Normannia prædam agebat, villas "comburebat, homines perimebat, et patri ſuo non "modicam anxietatem et moleſtiam inferebat." *Matth. Paris*, p. 8.

† Some perſons place this tranſaction in A. D. 1077, among which are Hemingford and Matthew Paris. Thomas Wikes ſeems to confine it to A. D. 1078; but from the teſtimonies of Florence of Worceſter, Simeon of Durham, the Chronicles of Maileros, John abbot of Peterborough, and others, not to mention the circumſtances of the narrative, it appears to have been in A. D. 1079.

ter, and inveſted Gerberoy: the ſiege, which continued for three weeks, gave riſe to ſeveral acts of chivalry and valour, and convinced the world that the opinion they had entertained of Robert's abilities, as a commander, was founded in truth. The beſieged made frequent ſallies, which were attended with great ſucceſs. In one of theſe William fell into an ambuſh, which required all his ſkill and valour to extricate himſelf from. Robert, ſeeing him at diſtance performing incredible feats of gallantry on horſeback, run at him with his lance, wounded him in the arm, and diſmounted him. The king, finding himſelf in imminent danger, * cried out, and, by his voice, diſcovered

* The manner in which William was diſcovered is variouſly related by former hiſtorians. Rapin aſſerts it was owing to ſome mark which Robert perceived on his arm. Smollet ſays it was owing to William's lifting his beaver, and *diſplaying* his countenance to Robert: but moſt ancient authours impute William's diſcovery to his *voice:* of this opinion are Florence of Worceſter and R. Hoveden. Hemingford corroborates their aſſertion by the following minute account of this whole tranſaction: "Pater-occurit filio ſuo ante "Caſtellum Gerbochret, quod rex Francorum Philip-"pus præſtiterat eidem Roberto, et facto congreſſu "valido, congreſſus eſt ipſe filius ignoranter cum patre, "et vulnerato patre in brachio dejecit eum in terram "filius. Mox ut *audivit vocem* patris conclamantis "ad ſuos, cum ſumma feſtinatione deſcendit, et pa-"trem erexit in equum, illæſumque extunc abire per-"miſit." *Hemingford*, c. viii.—Polydore Virgil is more

diſcovered himſelf to his ſon, who immediately leaped from his horſe, raiſed his father from the ground, fell upon his knees, and, with a flood of tears, begged pardon for his offence. The generous and filial behaviour of Robert, inſtead of making any impreſſion on his father, or gaining the pardon he deſired, was returned with a curſe, expreſſed with all the bitterneſs of inveterate malice, and irreconcileable provocation.

Yet as he had a horſe killed under him, as his ſon William was wounded, and he had loſt a great many men, he raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Rouen. While he ſtaid in this place he was reconciled to his ſon Robert, by the ſollicitations of his queen, and the entreaties of Roger earl of Shrewſbury, Hugh de Grent-Meſnil, Roger de Beaumont, and others of the nobility. After William's reconciliation, he invited him to Rouen, and not careing to truſt him, in his abſence, on the Continent, brought him over to England with him, on pretence of ſending him againſt the Scots.

Malcolm, king of the Scots, had the preceding year ravaged the northern provinces as

more expreſs with reſpect to the diſcovery; his words are, "Incidit in patrem, quem, transfoſſo brachio, "de equo in terram deturbat; ſed ubi ex *voce patrem* "*eſſe cognovit*, eum tollit, petitque veniam commiſſi." Polyd. Virg. Hiſt. Anglic. Lib. ix. p. 156. Edit. Baſil. MDXXXIV.

as far as the Tine, killed a great many men, acquired a considerable booty, and returned with a vast number of prisoners. William was at that time engaged in an expedition against the Welch princes, whom he reduced, and was afterwards hindered by the troubles in Normandy, from turning his arms against the Scots in revenge for their outrages. As the Scots had succeeded so well in their first attempt, they were encouraged to make a second, and the county of Northumberland being then in a state of confusion, on account of the murder of Walcher, they had no small hopes of success.

This prelate, having purchased the earldom of Northumberland of the king at the death of Waltheof *, and being a person of an indolent disposition, suffered his officers to oppress the people in such a manner as rendered his own character odious. In the administration of his secular affairs he was chiefly governed by the advice of Leobwin his chaplain, and Gislebert his kinsman and deputy; till Ligwulf an English nobleman, who took refuge in his palace, ingratiated himself so much in his favour, that he in

* This account is supported by Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham, whom the author has endeavoured to reconcile with Matthew Paris, by incorporating the three narratives, and retrenching those circumstances wherein they seem to contradict each other.

in a manner ſupplanted them. One day a diſpute happening concerning ſome public meaſures, wherein Leobwin was contradicted by the fugitive nobleman, he was ſo much exaſperated at the affront, that he went immediately to Giſlebert his colleague, and ſpirited him up to aſſaſſinate him. Ligwulf and his whole family being thus barbarouſly murdered, Walcher, who was a perſon of extreme good nature, began to apprehend that the people would look upon him as an accomplice, and, in the firſt tranſports of his grief, flung his hood into the fire, telling Leobwin, who was then preſent, that he had by his wickedneſs ruined himſelf and all his family. In order to convince the populace that he had no hand in this crime, the good prelate ſent his emiſſaries all over Northumberland to publiſh his innocence, and that Giſlebert and his companions only were concerned in it, whom he had outlawed. Several meſſages having paſſed between Walcher and the relations of the deceaſed, they agreed to meet each other at a town called in Saxon, Gateſhefed, in Engliſh, Goatſhead. On the day appointed, the biſhop inſtead of ſurrendering up the murderers, endeavoured to compound the matter, by paying the fine due for murder to the relations of the deceaſed; or according to others, was ſo imprudent as to inſiſt

upon having the ſum of forty pounds to be paid to him before he would enter into any treaty. The mob inſiſting upon the ſurrender of the aſſaſſins, which the biſhop obſtinately refuſing, they fell upon all his attendants without doors, and put them to death. The biſhop, in order to allay their fury, ordered Giſlebert his kinſman, who ſeemed moſt obnoxious to their reſentment to go out of the church, who being attended by ſome knights, which undertook to defend him, was killed in an inſtant with all his protectours. Walcher perceiving by this time that the rage of the populace was not to be allayed, but by the ſacrifice of Leobwin, commanded him immediately to depart the church, and upon his refuſal, the prelate went to the door begging them to ſpare his life, which being abſolutely refuſed by the ringleader of the mob, he gave the ſignal to the reſt, by crying out in the language of thoſe days, "* ſhort rede, god rede, ſlea ye the bi-"ſhoppe;" on which they fell upon the prelate,

* As *rede* in the old Engliſh ſignifies judgment or law, this ſentence implies no more than that they would make ſhort work by killing the biſhop. The Wendoverian copy in the Cottonian library at the Britiſh Muſeum reads, "Sort red, god red, flee wse the biſſop;" i. e. a ſhort deciſion, a good deciſion, let us kill the biſhop. The manuſcript copy of Matt. Paris, in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, reads "Sort red, god "red, ſlea we the biſſop," which amounts to the ſame.

prelate, and run him through with their ſwords, as he was covering his head with his gown *. After this act of ſavageneſs, they called to Leobwin to come out, which he refuſing, they ſet fire to the roof of the church, wherein he remained 'till no longer able to bear the flames, and leaping out was preſently cut to pieces. Thus rouſed by their injuries, and ſucceſsful in their revenge, the malecontents marched on to Durham, inveſted the caſtle, but were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, four days after, by the bravery of the garriſon.

† Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, and chief juſticiary of the kingdom, was detached with a

* Simeon of Durham informs us that the monks of Yarrow took boat as ſoon as they received intelligence of the biſhop's murther, and coming to the ſpot where he was killed, carried his body, ſcarce to be known on account of the variety of wounds it had received, to their monaſtery; from whence it was afterwards removed to Durham, and there buried with great ſolemnity.

† Polydore Virgil's deſcription of the conduct of Odo is very conciſe, but at the ſame time very particular. "Per id tempus Odo Bajocenſis epiſcopus ad ul-"ciſcendum digna expiatione mortem Gualteri Du-"nelmenſis epiſcopi, quem Northumbri paulo ante "occiderunt, cum bene magna militum manu in "Northumbriam mittitur, quem miſerabiliter affix-"it." Polyd. Virgil, lib. ix. p. 156. Hemingford's relation is much to the ſame purpoſe, who atteſts the character of the biſhop, ſtiling him "innocentem "epiſcopum." Hemingford, cap. ix.

numerous army to quell this insurrection; but before his arrival the mutineers were dispersed, and the chief persons concerned in the massacre had left the kingdom. Notwithstanding, some persons, who were accessaries in the assassination of the bishop fell into his hands, and were ordered to be put to death, to lose their hands, or to be punished with heavy fines; great numbers of the latter are reported to be falsly accused, merely to bring money into his coffers. Not satisfied with these examples of revenge, he desolated the country, robbed the churches of their rich * ornaments, and having left a strong garrison in the castle, marched back again.

† These disturbances were scarce subsided, when Malcolm king of the Scots entered Northumberland; but William detaching his son Robert with a body of forces against him, he retired into his own country. ‡ The prince having advanced as far as Eagle-

* Amongst which was a pastoral staff, curiously wrought, and set with sapphires.

† A. D. 1080.

‡ Buchanan, in his account of this expedition, is very partial to his own country, in representing the power of Malcolm too formidable for Robert to engage with, and in depretiating the services which Robert performed in this expedition, which he says was rather a defensive than an offensive one, &c. It must be confessed, that the Scotch historian is not singular in his opinion, since Hemingford and Polydore Virgil give

Eagleſurat in Scotland, waſting all before him, without finding any to encounter him, retreated to Tyne, on the banks of which he built a caſtle near Monkceſter, which place has been called for that reaſon Newcaſtle.

When the young prince returned to court, he found that his ſervices in the north had made no impreſſion in his favour, and that the inveterate jealouſy his father had hitherto conceived of his popularity was rather increaſed than diminiſhed. Thinking that his preſence would tend rather to keep the coals of diſcord alive, he determined to travel abroad, with a full reſolution never to take up arms any more againſt his parent. Going into Italy to negotiate a marriage with a daughter of the marqueſs Bonifacio, he met with a diſappointment, after this he made the tour of Europe, viſiting his uncles Robert le Friſon count of Flanders, and Udo archbiſhop of Treves. Having ſpent five years in viſiting foreign courts, where he received great preſents, which he ſquandered away with a diſſolute profuſion, in company with Robert de Beleſme,

give us as ſlight a repreſentation of Robert's ſervices; but if any credit may be given to the Chronicle of Mailroſs, and that of John of Peterborough it is evident that his expedition deſerved a more favourable deſcription, and that his not attacking the Scots was not owing to their ſuperiour force, but to their running away too faſt for him to come up with them.

Beleſme, and other noblemen who joined him in his firſt revolt, he at laſt fixed his reſidence in the court of France, where he continued till his father's death.

About this time William who kept his reſidence at London, turned his thoughts to ſuch meaſures as had a tendency to ſecure the citizens in their obedience, and to render the place ſecure from any external attempt. On this occaſion he built a ſtrong caſtle on the Eaſt ſide of the city, entrenched with a deep ditch, which is at preſent called the * Tower of London, and affords us an idea of the progreſs fortification had made in this iſland, under Gundulph biſhop of Rocheſter, who was the chief architect and ſurveyor of this work.

† The Welch having made incurſions into his dominions, William levied a numerous army, and marched in perſon with a reſolution to chaſtiſe their inſolence, and reduce them to obedience. He penetrated as far

* From the manuſcript regiſter of the church of Rocheſter. The manuſcript life by Fitz Stephen in the Cottonian Library at the Britiſh Muſeum, marked *Julius.* A. 11. aſſerts that this fortreſs was originally founded by Julius Ceſar; but as he has no authority to ſupport his opinion, nor can prove from any writer that Julius Ceſar ever penetrated into the iſland, ſo far as London, we muſt look upon his account as founded entirely on vulgar errour, and popular tradition.

† From Caradoc's Chronicle.

far as St. David's, forced them to ſubmit at diſcretion, and compelled them to reſtore all the priſoners they had taken.

* The peace with Scotland, the ſubmiſſion of the Welch, and the tranquillity of Normandy gave William an opportunity of carrying on a plan which would put his finances in a condition of ſupplying his neceſſities on any emergency. No prince ſeems to have been a better oeconomiſt, nor better turned for increaſing the public revenue. The many conſpiracies formed againſt him had ſerved to convince him that the Engliſh were to be kept in ſubjection no longer than his army was ſuperiour to any force that they could raiſe againſt him. He knew too well that he who had the longeſt purſe had the beſt proſpect of getting the better in any military conteſt, and that the only means of ſupporting his finances would be by continual additions, which might be equivalent to any expences he ſhould be under a neceſſity of defraying. The Saxons were already fleeced to gratify his avarice; the Normans were grown opulent by their ſpoils, and as they enjoyed the benefit of his government, he thought it but juſt that they ſhould pay their ſhare towards its ſupport. That he might know what impoſitions they could bear, as well as the value of

* A. D. 1081.

of his own demeſnes, and of the lands which his tenants held *in capite*, he ordered a ſurvey to be made of the kingdom. The perſons commiſſioned to make this grand inqueſt were ſome of the moſt eminent prelates and noblemen of the kingdom, as appears from the names of the following perſons who were joined in the commiſſion for Worceſter, viz. * Remigius biſhop of Lincoln, Walter Giffard earl of Buckingham, † Hen. de Ferrieres earl of Derby, and ‡ Adam brother of Eudo, ſteward of the houſhold or ſewer to the king. This ſurvey was given in by verdict of juries ſworn in every county, hundred, or wapentac, before the reſpective commiſſioners. They were obliged to ſpecify the extent of arable land,

* He was a monk of the abbey of Feſchamps in Normandy, and was of great ſervice to William in his expedition againſt this kingdom, who promiſed him a biſhopric, if he ſucceeded in his attempts.

† He was ſon of Gualchelin de Ferrieres, a foreigner, who was a follower of William, he was poſſeſſed of one hundred and ſeventy-ſix lordſhips or manors, one hundred and fourteen of which lay in Derbyſhire, as we have mentioned already.

‡ This Adam, who was third ſon to Hubert de Rie, a faithful adherent to William, when only duke of Normandy, was entruſted by him in his negotiations with Edward the Confeſſor, about the ſucceſſion to the crown, and after the conqueſt had great poſſeſſions aſſigned him in Kent, as a reward for his eminent ſervices.

land, paſture, meadow, or wood every individual had, together with their value at that time, as well as in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor. The ſurvey, which was made by counties, hundreds, towns or manors, hides, * virgats and acres, contained likewiſe the numbers of mills and fiſheries in ſome counties, and in others the number of freemen, † ſocmen, ‡ villains, cottagers, ‖ bordars, § ſlaves, cattle, ſheep, hogs,

* The Saxons called this *Gardland*, commonly called Yardland, it conſiſted of a certain quantity of land or part of a hyde, differing in various places; and is in ſome twenty acres, and others twenty four, in others thirty, and in ſome others amounts to thirty roods.

† Socmen, were tenants, who held by no certain tenure, but paid their rent as a *ſoke*, or ſign of freedom.

‡ *Villains*, were perſons of a low and ſervile condition, bound to certain and bodily ſervice. The landlord could deprive them, at pleaſure, of their lands, goods and chattels, and compel them to pay redemption money before they could give away their own daughters in marriage.

‖ Bordars, or *Bordarii*, from the French *Bordier*, were cottagers, who ſupplied the lord of the manor with poultry and eggs.

§ The manner in which the entries were made in the domeſday books, cannot be better illuſtrated than by extracting a ſpecimen from them. *Eaſſeſſa. Terra regis dimid. hundred. de Witham. Witham tenuit Heraldus. T. R. E. pro manor. et pro 5 hidis tunc 21 Villan. modo 15 tunc 9 Bordar. modo 10 Tunc 6 ſervi modo 9 tunc 23 ſochemanni et modo ſimiliter, tunc inter totum valebat 10 lib. modo 20. Sed vicecomes inter ſuas*

cone-

hogs, working horſes and other animals in each town or manor, and the names of thoſe to

conſuetudines et placita, de dimid. hundred. recipit inde 34 *liberi homines, qui tunc reddebant* 10 *ſol. de conſuetudine et* 11 *d. ex illis tenet Ilbodiu:* 2 *de* 45 *acr. et val* 6 *ſol ét redd. Maner. ſuam conſuetudinem. Tedricus Pointel & de dimid. Hid. et* 22 *acr. dimid. reddentes conſuetudinem. Ranulph Piperel* 10 *de* 2 *hid. et* 45 *acr. non reddentes conſuetudinem. Willielmus Groſſe* 5 *et unus tantum reddit conſuetudinem et val* 3 *lib.* 13 *s. Rad. Baignard* 6 *et unus redd. conſuetud. et val* 3 *lib.* 13 *s. de dimid. Hid. et val.* 20 *s. Homo dúpifer* ide *dimid. Hid. et vall* 20 *s. Goſcelinus Loremarius habet terram unius et non redd. conſuet. &c. modo cuſtodit hoc manerium.*

Petrus vicecomes in manu regis.

That the Engliſh reader may not be unacquainted with this curious extract, we ſhall give him Brady's tranſlation of it, with ſome trifling alterations.

In the top of the leaf is entered *Eſſex*, the *king's land*. The half hundred of Witham. Harold held Witham in the time of king Edward for a manor, and for five hides there were in that king's time twenty one villains, at preſent fifteen. At that time there were nine bordars, at preſent ten. Then there were twenty-three ſocmen, now the ſame number. Then the whole was valued at ten pounds, now at twenty. But the viſcount or ſheriff received from the half hundred for his cuſtoms, mulcts, or forfeitures thirty-three pounds, and four pounds for fine or income. In this manor, there were in the time of king Edward thirty-four freemen, who then paid an accuſtomable rent of ten ſhillings and eleven pence, of which Ilbod holds two, containing forty-five acres, of the value of ſix ſhillings, which paid their old rent to the manor. Tedric Pointel holds eight, having half a hide, and twenty-two acres and a half, paying cuſtom

to whom they belonged. This ſurvey was no leſs than ſix years in making, and was entered in two books, one of which, called the leſs, comprehends a deſcription of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Eſſex; the other, ſtiled the greater, contains all the reſt of the kingdom, excepting the three northern counties of Weſtmoreland, Cumberland and Northumberland. This book, according to Ingulph, who lived at the time wherein it was made, was called the roll of Wincheſter, becauſe originally kept at that cathedral; afterwards it was named *Domboc*, which name, according to the monk of Tilbury, or the authour of the Black Book in the Exchequer, was given it, not becauſe it

 decides

tom or old rent. Ranulph, or Ralph Pipperel holds ten, with two hides and forty-five acres, which paid no cuſtom or old rent. William Groſſe holds five, only one of which paid cuſtom, and were valued at three pounds thirteen ſhillings. Ralph Baignand holds ſix, one of which paid cuſtom, they were valued at twenty ſhillings. (a) *Hamo* the ſewer or ſtuart holds one, who had half a hide valued at twenty ſhillings. Joſcelin Lorimar has the land of one, and pays no cuſtom.

Peter the viſcount or ſheriff keeps this manor in the king's hand.

From the little domeſday book in the Exchequer, fol. 450.

(a) Brady makes this a ſurname, but in the Latin he reads it *homo dapifer*, which ſignifies only a ſteward. Gale's edition of the domeſday book, reads *Amo*, which ſhews it to be a ſurname.

decides * any dubious matters, but because it is illegal to depart or appeal from its decisions. Stow imagines that the word domesday, by which we call it at present, is a corruption of *Domus* DEI, the name which it might have received from its being lodged in the church, which is stiled *Domus* DEI, or the House of † GOD.

‡ The monkish historians who have given us an account of the intention and universality of this survey, have been a little too large in their descriptions, when they tell us that there was not an hyde or yard of land, or a lake, or a fish-pool, or any town or place, that is not registered in this book. Mal-

* Tilbury's words are "Nos eundem librum *judiciarium* nominamus, non quod in eo de propositis aliquibus dubiis feratur sententia, sed quod a prædicto judicio non licet ulla ratione discedere."

† Carte's account of the book, and its name, is, that "it was called Domesday-book, because every man was to receive his doom, or be judged by it in case any dispute about the value, tenure, payment, or services of his lands, should arise upon the collection of the king's ordinary revenue, or raising extraordinary taxes. This valuable record having served ever since for a decisive evidence in such disputes, is lodged in the office of the chamberlains of the Exchequer, and seems to have been designed by the conqueror, not so much for his own service as for the benefit of his successours." *Carte's Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 436.

‡ Ingulph himself is involved in this mistake, as the reader may see in p. 908, of his history.

* Malmeſbury likewiſe is miſtaken, when he aſſerts that the king took an account of the number of people in the kingdom.

† On the contrary, it is evident that this ſurvey was chiefly intended to give the king an account of his tenants in capite; and that ſeveral towns or villages, held by feu-

* Malmeſbury, p. 63. Polydore Virgil ſeems involved in the ſame errour, when he aſſerts, "Erat "jam annus decimus et ſextus, cum Gulielmus regnare cæperat, quo tempore ei placuit cenſum agere, "hoc eſt *quicquid gentium ſuo pareret imperio*, CUNCTAS "*ſimul civitates, oppida, vicos, pagos, epiſcopatus cœnobia*, item quantum quiſque terræ poſſideret, quantum quotannis vectigalium acciperet, *milites* inſuper "qui ſtipendia facerent, ac ſingula juga boum paſſim "omnibus locis recenſere, in novaſque tabulas referre." *Polyd. Virgil*, Lib. ix. p. 156.

† Robert of Glouceſter's account of this affair, is very exact and very authentic.

"The king William, vor to wite the wurth of his "londe
"Let enqueri ſtreitliche thoru all Engelonde,
"Hou moni plou lond, and hou moni hiden alſo
"Were in everich ſire, and wat hii were wurth "yereto:
"And the rents of each toun, and of the waters "echone,
"That wurth, and of woods eke, that there ne "bileued none,
"But that he wiſt wat hii were wurth of all Enge-"londe
"And wite all clene, that wurth thereof ich un-"derſtond

"And

datories or under tenants, are omitted. Some great towns and cities of note are not so much as mentioned, as may be found from comparing this survey with an exact catalogue of the towns and cities in England. † London, which made a considerable figure in these days, is taken no notice of; and even with respect to the places registered in this survey, it appears that the assessors were far from being very exact, or very just. Ingulph owns himself that they favoured his monastery considerably, and it is not to be doubted but that they behaved in the same manner to other abbeys, as they did to that of Croyland.

‡ Whilst William's commissioners were engaged in this survey, he went over to Normandy, where he held a great council or

"And let it write clene inou, and that scrit dude
"iwis
"In the tresorie at Westminster there it yut is:
"So that ure kings suth, when hii ransome tooke,
"*Yrede* wat folc might give, hii fond there in yor
"boke."

Selden reads the last line thus:

"And redy wat folc might give, &c.

† The reader owes this observation to a manuscript note in the Polydore Vergil belonging to *St. Paul's School, London*. The writer having shown that Vergil's account is not consistent with the Domesday-book, proceeds thus "*non censetur Londinum*, &c."

‡ A. D. 1081.

or ſynod of the clergy; but returned ſoon into England.

The general ſurvey already mentioned, ſeems not to have ſet William's character in a more favourable light, than his ſeizure of Odo, biſhop of Bayeux and earl of Kent; notwithſtanding the papal claims of having cognizance of the crimes of prelates, and the exemption of their perſons from the civil power.

Odo, who was the king's uterine brother, had, during his government, as juſticiary of the realm, amaſſed immenſe ſums of money; and on account of an idle prediction of ſome aſtrologer, who foretold that Gregory, the reigning pope, ſhould be ſucceeded by one Odo, reſolved to purchaſe the papacy. With this view he had bought a palace at Rome, furniſhed very magnificently, and ſent his agents with commiſſions to endeavour to engage the great men of the church, in his intereſt, by rich preſents and flattering promiſes. Vain of his own abilities, and fondly imagining that no one could reſiſt his addreſs and elocution, he reſolved to go over himſelf, from a perſuaſion that he muſt certainly ſucceed. And ſo confident was he of ſucceſs, that he perſuaded others into the ſame notion. Full of theſe imaginations, and fond of appearing at Rome with a ſplendid equipage, he

engaged Hugh, earl of Cheſter, and a great number of his principal tenants, to attend him into Italy. Theſe noblemen, who ſeem rather to have been infatuated than perſuaded, carried their confidence in Odo's promiſes ſo far, that they deſigned to ſell the eſtates they had in England and ſettle in Italy, where they did not doubt of obtaining far greater on Odo's elevation.

The king having advice of theſe proceedings, and apprehenſive that the kingdom might be a ſufferer by the loſs of ſo many noblemen, and ſuch an immenſe treaſure as Odo was carrying with him, came unexpectedly from Normandy, met with Odo and his attendants at the iſle of Wight, juſt as they were going to embark; and burſting into the hall where they were then aſſembled, addreſſed them in a ſpeech, * "wherein, after recounting his "do-

* This ſpeech is ſo highly characteriſtic of the ſpeaker, and conveys ſuch a true idea of the ſtate of affairs when it was delivered, that the authour could not forbear tranſcribing it, for the entertainment and information of his readers. "Illuſtrious peers, I beg "your attention and your advice. At my departure for "Normandy, I commended England to the care of "biſhop Odo, my brother. In Normandy I have not "only been attacked by foreign enemies, but likewiſe "by my moſt intimate friends; for Robert my ſon, "and other youths who have been indebted to me for "their education, and been inſtructed by me in mili-"tary

" domeſtic troubles, the rebellion of the An-
" jouvins, and the attempts of his enemies
" againſt him in Normandy, he expatiated
" on

" tary diſcipline, have broke out into open rebellion,
" and aſſiſted thoſe who had unjuſtly taken up arms
" againſt me. But they have not proſpered; for GOD,
" whoſe ſervant I am, has ſignally protected me. Nor
" have they got any thing from me, excepting iron in
" their wounds. The Anjouvins made great prepara-
" tions againſt me, but have been obliged to acknowledge
" the ſuperiority of my arms. Theſe commotions, you
" know, have drawn me into Normandy, where I
" have been obliged to ſtay ſome time, and have been
" employed in affairs of conſiderable importance and
" utility. But, in this interval, my brother has op-
" preſſed my Engliſh ſubjects, by robbing the churches
" of their eſtates and revenues, by ſtripping them of
" the ornaments given them by our predeceſſours, and
" hath ſeduced my knights to follow him on the other
" ſide of the Alpes, though their ſervice is neceſſary to
" defend the nation againſt the Danes, Iriſh, and other
" enemies, which may prove an over match for me.
" But my greateſt concern is for the church of GOD,
" which this man has involved in affliction; whereas
" other Chriſtian kings who have reigned before me, have
" enriched it with preſents and honoured it with their
" moſt intenſe affections; for which, I truſt, they
" now enjoy a happy retribution. Ethelbert, Edward,
" Saint Oſwald, Althulph, Alfred, Edward the elder,
" Edgar, and my choſen and moſt dear Edward, have
" enriched the church, the ſpouſe of GOD, with their
" munificence: but my brother, whom I intruſted
" with the adminiſtration, violently teareth away her
" poſſeſſions, cruelly grindeth the poor, debaucheth
" away my ſoldiers from me to ſecure his vain pro-
" jects, and by oppreſſion hath exaſperated the whole
" nation,

" on the oppreſſions his brother had been " guilty of in his adminiſtration, charged " him with robbing the churches of their " treaſure, oppreſſing the poor, and de- " bauching the forces which ſhould defend " the country, from his ſervice; in order to " maintain his chimerical projects in Italy." The king concluded his ſpeech with requeſting the advice of the nobles then preſent, in an affair of ſo great importance. But they being afraid of Odo's greatneſs, and unwilling to give their opinions, William reſumed the diſcourſe in the following manner. " Malicious * raſhneſs ſhould never " be tolerated; this man hath oftentimes " oppoſed his own father, and, elate with " pride, has ſided with the king of France. " † No man's quality ought to be a pro- " tection for his crimes, nor ought any in- " dividual to be ſpared to the prejudice of " the public."

As ſoon as William had uttered theſe words, he ordered Odo to be apprehended, and to be kept in ſafe cuſtody. But none of them daring to lay hands on him, on account

" nation. Conſider, my lords, theſe things; and let " me implore you to give me your advice. What is to " be done in theſe circumſtances?" *Speed's Hiſt.* B. ix. c. 2. p. 430.

* Speed's Hiſt. p. 430.

† Wace's manuſcript hiſtory, p. 582.

count of his being a biſhop, the king ſeized him with his own hands; and upon Odo's inſiſting that he was a biſhop, and as ſuch could not be tried by any body but the pope; he replied, that he ſeized him not as a biſhop, but as earl of Kent; in which capacity he was ſubject to his courts, and obliged to give an account of his conduct.

* Odo was ſent away to Normandy, and impriſoned in the caſtle of Roüen, from whence all the threats, importunities, and remonſtrances of the pope, could not releaſe him during the life of the conqueror.

† The king making a long ſtay in England, on account of an epidemical diſtemper which had broken out and raged with great fury in Normandy, indulged himſelf during this interval in hunting. He was fond of this ſport to a degree of fury, and the meaſures he took to gratify himſelf, were ſuch as are not leſs aſtoniſhing than injurious. He depopulated the county of Hampſhire for no leſs than thirty miles, turning out the inhabitants, deſtroying houſes, gardens, and ‡ even churches, in order to make it a deſert,

* On his confinement his riches were ſeized, which were the admiration of every one. Several bags of gold duſt were taken out of a river, wherein they had been thrown for concealment, &c.

† A. D. 1082.

‡ Thirty-ſix pariſh churches were demoliſhed on this occaſion.

desert, and fit receptacle for wild beasts and other kinds of game. This tract of land had formerly been stiled Ytene, but on account of William's devastation was named the new * Forest. The depopulation of the country

* Voltaire observes on this occasion, "that the "conqueror is reproached with having destroyed all "the villages within the compass of thirty miles to "make a forest, in which he might take the diver- "sion of hunting; but such an act, adds our authour, "is too absurd to be probable. Writers who relate "this, do not consider that it would require at least "twenty years, to make a new plantation a proper "place for hunting. They tell us he planted this fo- "rest in 1080, when he was sixty-three years old. "Now, is it probable, that a man of any understand- "ing, should at such an age have destroyed so many "villages, to sow a tract of land of thirty miles in "length, with trees, in hopes of one day hunting in "it?" This remark may convince the reader of Voltaire's talents, when he has a mind to play the critic. His translator, who corrects most of his errours in the process of his work, has not let this slip; but judiciously remarks in his note. "That the historian "[*Voltaire*] does not consider that there was no occa- "sion to plant; the whole country here-about was na- "turally a forest, and William had nothing to do but "to turn out the inhabitants and to inclose the "ground. He depopulated the country in Hampshire, "to the extent of thirty miles, and destroyed all the "houses, villages, and even churches, which stood in "that tract; but he had no occasion to plant even a "single tree." SMOLLET's *translation* of Voltaire, vol. i. p. 272, 273. The injustice and cruelty of this measure, whereby William deprived his subjects of their habitations,

country in ſuch a manner, gave riſe to ſeveral bitter invectives from the ſufferers, who ſtiled him the father of wild beaſts. Inſtead of ſtifling theſe murmurs, William took ſuch meaſures

habitations, and denied them their diverſions, is thus pathetically deſcribed by Polydore Vergil. "Mala miſeris Anglis indies magis magiſque ingraveſcebant, "qui, poſt amiſſas opes, voluptatibus quoque honeſtis "privantur, nam jam tum nobiles perinde in venatione eſſe ſolebant, atque nunc multum ſunt, et, "pro ſuo jure, damas et cervos qui in publicis eſſent "ſaltibus, paſſim inſectari. Sed cum Gulielmus eos "ſaltus ſibi paulo aute vindicaſſet, pecuniam per feras, "venandi cauſa, indixit gravem pænam, ſi quis deinceps eas caperet: quam ne quiſpiam facile evitaret, "ſimul curavit, ut ejuſmodi ferarum amplior multo "copia foret. Porro eam inſulæ partem, quæ a Sariſberia, ad littus Oceani, in auſtrum verſus, ſpatio "triginta circiter millium paſſuum pertinet, omni humano cultu vacavit, atque in luſtra ferarum redegit, "complanatis paſſim templis, domibus, caſis, et ejectis accolis, vociferantibus lachrymantibuſque, quod "patriam, quod lares, quod dulces agros feris relinquerent." *Polyd. Vergil.* Lib. ix. p. 157.

This authour ſuggeſts a little lower, that William had a political view in laying the country deſolate; and that his intention was to deprive any foreign enemy of ſubſiſtance, who ſhould make a deſcent in theſe parts. This conjecture is too frivolous to deſerve a formal refutation. William of Glouceſter ſeems better acquainted with the conquerour's intentions, and deſerves the attention of the reader.

"Game of houndes he louede inou and of wild beſt
"And is foreſt, and is wodes, and meſt the niwe
"foreſt

"That

meaſures as ſerved only to increaſe them. Hunting had always been the favourite diverſion of the Britons and Saxons, who were careful of preſerving every thing that promoted their ſport. The whole country was originally full of all ſorts of game, which was not only the ſubſiſtance but likewiſe the pleaſure of the firſt inhabitants. In their times there were no incloſures, but every one enjoyed the liberty of hunting in common. When the Saxons began to improve the fertile lands by agriculture, and to incloſe them for their benefit, the wild beaſts fled

" That is in Suthamteffire, vor thulke he louede
" inow
" And aſtored well mid beſtes, and leſe mid gret
" wou:
" Vor he caſt out of houſe and hom of men a great
" route,
" And binom their lond thritti mile and more
" thereaboute,
" And made it all foreſt and leſe the beſts for to
" fede,
" Of pouer men diſerited he nom let el hede;
" Thereuore therein vel mony miſchieving
" And is ſone was thereine iſſote Villiam the red
" king.
" And is o ſone, that het Richard, caght there
" is deth alſo
" And Richard is o neuew brec there is neck
" thereto,
" As he rod an honteth ad perauntre his horſe
" ſprend
" The unright ido to power men to ſuch meſauntre
" wend."

fled into the woody tracts, where they found ſhelter and met with leſs diſturbance. Theſe places, being in proceſs of time well ſtocked with game, went by the name of foreſts. As they had never been appropriated to any perſon, in the diſtribution of lands among the Saxons, they were deemed to belong to the crown. Though this right was never diſputed, our Saxon anceſtors made uſe of it purely for their pleaſure, never laying any reſtraint on the nobility or gentry, to debar them of the pleaſure of hunting in theſe places. William broke through theſe privileges, by claiming an abſolute right and property in theſe foreſts, and reſerving all hunting and ſporting to himſelf. This incroachment ſat very uneaſy upon the Norman nobility, who looked on it as an intolerable grievance. Their murmurs had little effect upon William, who fortified his prerogative by a ſet of foreſt laws, and accumulated great ſums in his coffers, from the penalties incurred by their violation.

The Normans, as well as the Engliſh, were ſubject to the ſame reſtrictions in this caſe, though in others he ſhewed great partiality to his own countrymen. The cuſtoms of Normandy pleaſed him ſo much, that he thirſted after an opportunity to introduce them, but in vain. He could not in decency aboliſh the laws of Edward the

confeſſour, after he had taken an oath to preſerve them. Yet, to get rid of this dilemma, he thought he might ſafely alter what he durſt not aboliſh. He prohibited the biſhops from aſſiſting as uſual at the county courts. He inſtituted new tribunals, ſome of which followed the court to the great inconvenience of the contending parties: the proceedings of theſe courts were carried on in the Norman language, and ſchools were erected in order to teach it in all the towns and boroughs of the kingdom.

Amidſt theſe innovations in the ſtate, one happened in the church, which proved fatal to the introducer. On the depoſition of Ailnod, the king had made one Thurſtan, of Caen in Normandy, abbot of Glaſtenbury. The new abbot, who was a perſon of a violent diſpoſition, and inſolent haughtineſs, but void of every degree of prudence, acted in ſuch a manner as to diſguſt all the monks in his monaſtery. He never loſt an opportunity of giving them an offence; and, when none offered of itſelf, would generally ſeek one. Among other imprudent innovations, he inſiſted upon their laying aſide the Gregorian chant, for a new one invented by one William, a monk of Feſchamp. But the monks refuſing to comply with his orders, Thurſtan was ſo highly incenſed that he

he introduced a body of ſoldiers into the chapter, in order to frighten them into obedience. The monks, terrified at the appearance of a party of ſoldiers, fled into the church for refuge; they were purſued to the very altar, where they defended themſelves againſt the ſoldiers for ſome time, with the ſeats and candleſticks; but being overpowered by numbers, two of them were killed at the altar's foot, ſeveral others were wounded, and the crucifix was pierced in ſeveral places with arrows. The king being informed of this ſacrilegious riot, examined into the circumſtances, diſperſed the monks, who were moſt of them Engliſh, into other convents, and ſent the abbot to his old monaſtery in Normandy, where he remained for the reſt of this king's reign; but was afterwards reſtored to his former dignity, by William Rufus, on making him a preſent of five hundred pounds.

* The ſucceeding year of William's reign, is remarkable for nothing but his levying an oppreſſive tax, of ſix ſhillings, upon every hide of land throughout his kingdom. Whether avarice, or policy, might have given riſe for this oppreſſion, is very uncertain; though ſome authours aſcribe it to his apprehenſions of a Daniſh invaſion, which happened the ſucceeding year.

* A. D. 1084.

* Canute IV. king of Denmark, as ſoon as he was ſettled on the throne, began to form a deſign of aſſerting his right to the crown of England. This enterprize he undertook chiefly by the inſtigations of his father in law, Robert earl of Flanders; who promiſed him his aſſiſtance. The Engliſh refugees gave him no ſmall encouragement, by aſſuring him that the patience of their countrymen was quite tired out by the oppreſſions of the Normans, and that they would certainly join him if he landed with a force ſufficient to protect them. Notwithſtanding theſe encouragements, Canute was unwilling to embark in an affair of ſo great importance; he aſked the opinion of his brother Olaus, who adviſed him to put his project in execution, and was ſupported by the ſtates of the kingdom, who were of the ſame opinion. Thus encouraged, Canute drew together a formidable fleet, amounting to near a thouſand ſail, on board of which he embarked prodigious quantities of warlike ſtores, and proviſions ſufficient to ſupport a great body of forces. When all things were ready, Canute was obliged to ſtay ſome time for his brother Olaus; and at laſt, impatient with delay, went to fetch him from his duchy, where he found him plotting his ruin, inſtead of preparing for his

* A. D. 1085.

his voyage to England. This act of perfidy ſo incenſed the Daniſh king, that he ſeized Olaus and ſent him priſoner to Flanders.

During the abſence of Canute, the conſpirators on board the fleet gave out that the proviſions were unwholeſome, that ſeveral of the veſſels were leaky, and that the king's mind was changed. In conſequence of which, the marine officers and ſeamen thought that the beſt they could do, would be to go home; ſo that when Canute returned, he found both his fleet and his army diſperſed, and was obliged to abandon his deſigns againſt England.

William was peculiarly apprehenſive of the Danes, on account of their connections and intereſt with the natives of this iſland; and no ſooner heard of their deſigns, but he made extraordinary preparations to oppoſe them. Having aſſembled a numerous army of mercenaries from Spain, France, Burgundy, and Germany, he ſent a large detachment, conſiſting of ſeveral thouſands, to Northumberland, ſuſpecting that the enemy would make their firſt attempt there, on account of the turbulent diſpoſition of the natives, and the great diſtance of the place from his capital. He gave orders for the country to be laid waſte, to deprive the enemy of all hopes of ſubſiſtance; diſperſed the

reſt of his army all over the kingdom, obliging the nobility to furniſh them with proviſions, and quartering conſiderable numbers on the monaſteries. That of Croyland, according to Ingulph, was obliged to maintain ſix knights and twenty-eight archers, and the others in proportion to their opulence and extent. When he had certain intelligence that the Daniſh expedition was laid aſide, he diſbanded one half of his troops, keeping the remainder till the winter was over, to prevent a ſurprize.

* During William's ſtay in England, he received the melancholy news of his conſort's indiſpoſition, which drew him into Normandy. Mathilda had been long indiſpoſed, before her deceaſe. Some time before her death ſhe had a difference with William, on account of her ſupplying her ſon Robert with money during his rebellion; yet, being reconciled to her before his departure, he expreſſed no ſmall concern for her loſs; and was ſo much afflicted at her death, that he abſtained from his uſual diverſions for ever after. Her funeral was celebrated with great magnificence, at Caen in

* A. D. 1084. Ingulph fixes this event to this year, and is followed by Ordericus Vitalis; thoſe who place it two years before, ſeem to be in an errour; becauſe Ingulph, who was alive at this time, could not have forgotten a period of ſo much importance.

in Normandy, in the church of St. Trinity, belonging to a monaſtery of which ſhe herſelf was the foundreſs.

In the midſt of his ſorrow William was alarmed with an inſurrection that broke out in Le Main, and was fomented by the nobility, who bore him an irreconcileable enmity. Hubert, viſcount de Beaumont, diſguſted at ſome ill uſage he had received from William, retired with his wife and family to the caſtle of Sauſanne, which was in thoſe days reckoned impregnable. From hence the viſcount made frequent incurſions in Le Main, ſurprizing detached parties of the Normans and ravaging the country. The king on advice of this inſurrection, marched to the fortreſs, but finding the place not eaſily to be taken, did not think proper to beſiege it in form, but erected a fort in the valley of Beagy, in which he left a garriſon to curb the excurſions of the enemy. The garriſon of this fort was commanded by Alain Fergant, and at firſt ſuperiour to the enemy. But Hubert being afterwards joined with a great reinforcement of French and Burgundians, inſulted the Normans at the very gates, taking great numbers of priſoners, and enriching themſelves with frequent booties. The war was protracted in this manner for three years, during which William loſt Robert de Vieupont, Robert de Uſſey,

Uſſey, Hervey Brito, Richer Baron l'Aigle, and other brave commanders. William de Varenne, Baudry de Cintre, Gilbert de l'Aigle burning with impatience to avenge theſe loſſes, collected their forces together to attack the rebels, but were unfortunately defeated, purſued to the walls of the citadel, and had William count of Evereux taken priſoner. William finding by experience, that it was impoſſible to reduce Hubert by force, offered to be reconciled to him on condition he would return to his duty: the viſcount thought it prudent to accept of the propoſals, and having obtained a paſs went to England, where he was graciouſly received by William, who reſtored him to his father's eſtate, and by his generoſity attached him to his intereſt as long as he lived.

The king keeping his Chriſtmas at Glouceſter the * ſucceeding year, he diſpoſed of the vacant ſees of London, Thetford and Cheſter to his three chaplains, Maurice, William and Robert. On the Whitſuntide following he created his ſon Henry a knight; not long after which he ſummoned the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons and others, to meet him at Saliſbury, and take an oath of fidelity to him before his intended voyage to Normandy. While he ſtaid

* A. D. 1085.

ſaid in the Iſle of Wight waiting for a wind or other preparations neceſſary for his paſſage, he extorted great ſums of money from his ſubjects, and when ready to embark, took Edgar Atheling along with him by way of ſecurity. This prince, who was the true heir to the crown, was endowed with many virtues, which were more adapted to a private life, than a king; though he did not want perſonal valour, he was far from being enterprizing; an unconquerable indolence of temper rendered his courage unſerviceable. Having made ſome unſucceſsful attempts to aſſert his rights, he afterwards lived in a private and inoffenſive manner, without marrying to continue his right in his family. Notwithſtanding his endeavour to ſhun popularity, the gracefulneſs of his perſon, the goodneſs of his nature, the bountifulneſs of his temper, the right of his birth, and the general compaſſion of the people on account of his misfortunes, rendered him an object of William's jealouſy. For theſe reaſons Edgar Atheling was obliged to attend the king in Normandy, but though naturally indolent he was not void of foreſight, and apprehending that when he was in William's power, he might make uſe of ſome frivolous pretext to deprive him of his life, he thought it would be beſt for him to remove all jealouſies, by retiring to

ſome

ſome place at a diſtance from Normandy or England. With this view he conceived a reſolution of going into the Holy Land, in company with Robert the ſon of Godwin, to fight the infidels. William was no ſooner apprized of his intention, than he encouraged it, and furniſhed him with money, which enabled him to ſet out with a ſplendid retinue *: Edgar's ſiſter Chriſtina, who had lived with him unmarried, reſolved likewiſe to remove another cauſe of jealouſy from William, by taking the veil in the monaſtery of Rumſey.

William, thus rid of his competitor, would in all probability have turned his thoughts towards peace, if he not been involved in a war with the French king, contrary to his inclination. Being now in the decline of life, and grown immoderately corpulent, he ſeemed far from ſeeking a rupture with the king of France, but was hurried into one by an incident of youthful levity. Henry, the youngeſt ſon of William, is ſaid to have had a quarrel with Philip's eldeſt ſon, ſurnamed Lewis le Gros, at Conſtans Honorine, as they were playing at Cheſs. Lewis having a run of ill-luck, was ſo out of humour, that he made uſe of ill-language, called Henry the ſon of a baſtard, and threw the cheſſ-men

* The ſurvey begun A. D. 1081 was finiſhed in this year.

men at his head. Henry enraged at this affront, threw the chesboard in Louis's face, with such violence as laid him bleeding on the ground, and would have killed him, if he had not been prevented by his brother Robert, who thought it advisable to make their escape. The two brothers immediately mounted their horses, and were closely pursued by some men sent out for that purpose. Luckily for them, they were met on the road by Baldwin de Harcourt, and Fulk count of Beaumont sur Oyse, who being apprized of their danger, had advanced with a party to their relief, and repulsed the pursuers to the very gates of Conflans.

Philip resented his son's wound so highly, though he had been the aggressor, that he ordered his troops to pass the Euse, and ravage the province of Normandy. William apprized of these incursions, instead of making a demand of satisfaction for the damages, which his duchy had sustained, claimed the restitution of the Vexin François, which had been ceded to his father by Henry king of France, but had been seized upon by Philip during his minority.

* William, upon the refusal of his demand, was determined to force the king of France to a compliance, and for that purpose entered the Isle of France with a considerable

* A. D. 1087.

ſiderable army. Philip, in order to prevent the impending ſtorm, or to obtain more time, conſented to a truce, during which, the king by the advice of his phyſicians underwent a courſe of phyſic in order to reduce his corpulency. The French king being informed of William's indiſpoſition, which confined him longer to his bed than uſual, ſcoffingly aſked one day, "Whether "William had not lain in long enough to "get rid of his big belly, adding, that he "had been longer in the ſtraw than the "women of the country uſed to be to get "rid of theirs." This ſarcaſm being reported to William, he was highly enraged at it, and ſwore by the reſurrection and ſplendour of GOD, that he ſhould ſoon be up again, and at his churching, would * offer ſuch a number of lights, as ſhould make his kingdom too hot for him.

This threat William ſoon put in force by deſtroying and burning all before him without oppoſition. He detached Aſcelin Goel to burn the corn, and cut up all the vines about Mante, which he ſoon after inveſted. The place not being very ſtrong, was taken by ſtorm the day after he came before it, and the town being ſet on fire, was burned with all the churches and monaſteries, in which

* Alluding to the cuſtom of preſenting tapers at the altar, when women were churched after lying in.

which * ſome of the religious periſhed in the flames. While the fire was yet burning the king entered the town on horſeback, as it were in triumph; but as he paſſed among the ruins of the houſes, his horſe chancing to place his two forefeet on ſome hot aſhes, † plunged with ſo much violence, that William was thrown forward, and bruiſed the lower part of his belly ſo much upon the pummel of his ſaddle, that he was forced to return to Rouen.

Finding himſelf grow daily worſe, and being diſturbed by the noiſe of the town, he was carried in a litter to the priory of St. Gervais belonging to the monks of Feſcamp. In this place he was attended by Gilbert biſhop of Liſeux, and Gontard abbot of Jumieges, the moſt ſkilful phyſicians of thoſe days; who, perceiving that his diſtemper gained ground in ſpite of all their endeavours, gave him to underſtand that it was neceſſary for him to prepare for another world. William finding that external ap-

* Rapin mentions two hermits periſhing in one church; which Huntingdon, the Saxon annals and Simeon of Durham call two nuns.

† Wace's manuſcript hiſtory. Matthew Paris aſſerts that he received this injury as he was leaping his horſe over a ditch, his words are, "Præruptam foſſam equus regis tranſiliens, interiora diſrupit inſidentis." Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Maj. p. 11.

plications were in vain, ſent for Anſelm biſhop of Bec, and afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, hoping to obtain that by his prayers, which he could not by medicines; but Anſelm being at that time confined to his bed by ſickneſs, the king was diſappointed of his hopes. Finding his end now approaching he confeſſed his ſins, received the ſacrament, and ſettled his worldly affairs. Struck with remorſe for the devaſtations he had committed in his rage, he ordered a ſum of money ſufficient for the rebuilding of St. Mary's church, which he had burnt, to be ſent to the clergy for that purpoſe. He bequeathed to the church and monks of St. Stephen's at Caen, two manors in Dorſetſhire, one in Devonſhire, another in Eſſex, a large eſtate in Berkſhire, another in Norfolk, together with a manſion-houſe in Woodſtreet at London, and ſeveral advowſons. * He gave his crown and other regal ornaments to the church, of which he was the founder. He commanded † immenſe treaſures

* It was afterwards redeemed by Henry I. his ſon, with the manor of Briton in Dorſetſhire. William Rufus had promiſed to give the manor of Coker in Somerſetſhire for it, but the bargain was never fulfilled.

† Though the particular ſums were ſpecified in the king's will, yet Matt. Paris informs us only, that Gold was given to the monaſteries, that the pariſh churches received five ſhillings a-piece, and that province

treaſures to be diſtributed amongſt the poor, the clergy, the churches, and the monaſteries.

He left the provinces of Normandy and Le Maine to his eldeſt ſon * Robert as his inheritance by birthright, though he could not help calling him a proud fooliſh knave, and ſaying that he foreſaw that he would make his ſubjects unhappy. As he could not pretend to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, he ſaid he wiſhed that his ſon † William, who had behaved to him

vince received one hundred pounds to be divided among the poor. The words are, "Willielmus in pecunia diſpergenda neque ſegnis neque parcus, omnem theſaurum patris—proferens, monaſteriis aurum, eccleſiis parochianis argenti ſolidas quinque, uniquique provinciæ libras centum, egenis d videndis miſericorditer aſſignavit." *Matt. Paris Hiſt. Maj.* p. 11. In order to obviate an objection that may be made to this quotation, the author begs leave to remark, that notwithſtanding this act of munificence is by Paris aſcribed to William Rufus as proceeding merely from his own charity, yet it is probable that it might have been in conſequence of his father's will, whereby he left particular legacies to the poor, the churches and the monaſteries.

* From Wace's manuſcript hiſtory, and an ancient fragment of the life of William the Conquerour.

† Before his death the conquerour delivered his ſon a letter ſigned with his own ſignet, and addreſſed to Lanfranc, ſolliciting his intereſt in his behalf, and having kiſſed him, and given him his bleſſing, ordered him to make the beſt of his way to England, in order to prevent any commotion that might ariſe.

with a true filial affection and duty, might accede to it. Henry, ſurnamed Beauclerc, not finding himſelf provided for among the other legatees, is reported to have addreſſed his father with tears on the occaſion; and to have received the following anſwer, that he ſhould have five thouſand pounds, beſides his mother's jointure; and, that he ſhould not be uneaſy at his having no lands bequeathed him, the expiring monarch comforted him by predicting that he ſhould ſurvive his two brothers, and not only ſucceed them in their reſpective dignities, but likewiſe ſurpaſs them both in power and riches *.

Among

* This teſtament, which ſome repreſent as a will committed to writing by notaries, and others as a ſpeech, is given us by Ordericus Vitalis, and though it does not carry very great marks of authenticity, yet as it may ſatisfy the curioſity of the reader, we have thus attempted to cloath it in a modern dreſs. "Laden "with many and grievous ſins, I tremble at the thoughts "of appearing before the tribunal of a jealous, but "a juſt GOD. Always converſant in wars, and pol-"luted with an effuſion of blood, I am involved in "the moſt diſtracting perplexity, and utterly ignorant "of my duty; my offences are ſo great that they cannot "be numbered; I have continually added to their "number for a courſe of threeſcore and four years, "and now am going to render an account of them "to a judge, whoſe judgments are founded on truth "and juſtice. From my tender infancy, from the "eighth year of my age I have been obliged to bear "arms in defence of my duchy, which has been ad-"miniſtered

Among other acts of mercy, before his death, William ſet at liberty Morcar, Ro-

 ger,

" miniſtered by me for a ſeries of fifty years, during
" which I have been privately endangered by ſecret
" conſpiracies, and openly attacked by enemies,
" who ſought to deprive me of my rights. The Nor-
" mans have been ruled by me with no ſmall diffi-
" culty, they require a ſtrong hand to reſtrain them;
" intrepid amidſt dangers, and invincible in valour,
" they are both ſuperiour to other men in ſtrength,
" and rival all others in courage. If the reins be
" once looſened, they will deſtroy one another, being
" naturally fond of innovations and inclined to in-
" ſurrections, as I have frequently experienced, not
" only from my confederates, but likewiſe from my
" own relations, who have proclaimed me a baſtard, a
" perſon of baſe birth, and unworthy of aſſuming the
" reins of government. Forced by their indignities
" to put on my armour, before I was of an age fit to
" manage it, the Divine Providence has been my pro-
" tector, and enabled me to ſubdue ſome, and to lead
" others into captivity. A royal diadem, which none
" of my anceſtors ever wore, I have acquired, not by
" right of inheritance, but by the grace of GOD. The
" labours and conflicts I have ſuſtained in defence of
" my crown againſt thoſe of Exeter, Cheſter, Nor-
" thumberland, Scotland, France, Norway and Den-
" mark, are more than I am able to expreſs; though
" I always was victorious over theſe enemies, yet
" the pleaſures which ariſe from ſuch conqueſts are ge-
" nerally attended with ſome remorſes on account of
" their being the fruits of raſhneſs, and the cauſes of
" cruelty. On this account I muſt entreat the pray-
" ers of the clergy on my behalf, that I may obtain
" forgiveneſs of my ſins and be numbered among
" GOD's elect. I have enriched and augmented nine

abbeys

ger Siward, ſon of Barn, and Wulnoth, brother to Harold, who had been an hoſtage

" abbeys and one nunnery, which were founded by my " anceſtors in Normandy. During my government " ſeventeen monaſteries and ſix nunneries have been " founded either by myſelf or my nobles, whoſe char- " ters I have confirmed and ſtill confirm againſt all " perſons whatſoever. In theſe places GOD is ſerved " and the poor relieved; they are a kind of camps by " which both England and Normandy are defended; " or rather fortreſſes in which novices are taught to " fight againſt the devil and the fleſh; and as ſuch " I recommend them to the charge and ſupport of " my heirs and ſucceſſours. My dear children, copy " my example in this point, which will certainly re- " commend you to the favour of GOD and man. But " let me particularly adviſe ye, who are my very " bowels, to frequent the company and follow the ad- " vice of perſons, who are remarkable for their wiſ- " dom, and eſteemed for their morals; this will be a " certain means of obtaining and prolonging your hap- " pineſs. Do juſtice without partiality; for there is " not a greater proof of wiſdom than the being able " to diſtinguiſh between right and wrong. Shun " vice; relieve the poor; ſuccour the weak; but ſub- " due the proud and check the turbulent. Frequent " the church, honour the religious, and ſhew your o- " bedience to the laws of GOD, by an indefatigable " aſſiduity in the obſervance of them. I granted the " duchy of Normandy to my ſon Robert before the " battle of Senlis, becauſe he was my firſt-born; " and he has received the homage of almoſt all the " barons of the country on that occaſion. What I " granted cannot be recalled; though I foreſee that " the country will be miſerable under his admini- " ſtration; for he is a fooliſh, proud knave, and will " make himſelf unhappy. I leave or conſtitute no

" certain

tage or priſoner in Normandy ever ſince the year 1052. All others that were impriſoned either in England or Normandy enjoyed the benefit of this act of grace, on their taking an oath not to diſturb the peace. He intended to have excluded his brother Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, from this benefit, had it not been for the ſollicitation of his brother Robert, count of Mortain, to whom he could not forbear obſerving, that though he yielded to his intreaties, he could not help

" certain heir for my kingdom of England, but com-
" mend it to the diſpoſal of my everlaſting Creatour,
" whoſe I am; for I acquired not that realm by
" right of inheritance, but by the impulſe of the
" Deity, the effuſion of blood, and the perjury of
" Harold; who loſt his life in battle, and left
" his dominions as my right by conqueſt, after I
" had obtained a complete victory over his adherents.
" As for the natives of the realm they were objects
" of my hate, the nobles I diſgraced, the vulgar I
" oppreſſed, and I deprived many of their eſtates, not
" without injuſtice. I have been the death of many
" in the county of York by my ſword and by expoſ-
" ing them to famine; thus I have made that fair
" land deſolate by the death of many thouſands!
" Theſe offences, by which I have made myſelf maſ-
" ter of that kingdom, being ſo great, I cannot leave
" the adminiſtration of it to any but GOD, for fear
" they ſhould be aggravated after my deceaſe. Yet I
" cannot but wiſh that my ſon William, whoſe filial
" regard and piety has been ſo conſpicuous during my
" life, may aſcend the throne after my death, and
" wield the ſceptre with uninterrupted felicity, and a
" long reign."

help foreseeing that he was doing an injustice to mankind, in granting liberty to a prelate, whom he knew to be turbulent, ambitious, cruel, vindictive, profligate and rapacious.

William having thus settled his temporal affairs, waited with resignation for the moment of his departure. On the 9th of September having raised himself with pillows, he heard the great bell of Gervais, and asking the cause of its ringing, was answered that it was the hour of prime, on which he lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and, spreading abroad his hands, made the following devout ejaculation. "I commend myself to the blessed Lady Mary, "mother of GOD, hoping by her intercession to be reconciled to her most dear "son, our *Lord Jesus Christ*." As soon as he had uttered these words, he expired; and, what is hardly credible, it * is reported that the news of his death was the same day known as far as Rome, Apulia, and Calabria.

As soon as the king's death was known, the palace became a scene of distraction: his son Henry flew immediately to the treasury, and carried off the money left him for his

* This is founded upon the credit of some Norman gentlemen, who had retired to those places to escape his resentment, and averred it to be fact on their return to Normandy.

his legacy; the nobility retired home to ſecure their lands and caſtles, from any attempt that might be made during the troubles they imagined would ariſe on account of the king's death; the officers of the houſhold, and inferior ſervants, ſtripped the palace of every thing valuable; and the dead king's corpſe was left naked, and attended only by a ſingle ſervant.

This was not the only ſlight ſhown to this prince's remains; for when they were carried by order of William, archbiſhop of Rouen, to be enterred at Caen, in the church of St. Stephen, none of his courtiers paid his memory ſo much reſpect as to attend his funeral, excepting Hurlieu de Conteville, who defrayed the expences of it out of his own pocket.

When the corpſe entered the town of Caen, in funeral proceſſion, it was attended by abbot Gilbert and his monks, with great numbers both of the clergy and laity; but a fire breaking out in the town, every body ran to quench it, leaving the monks by themſelves to carry the body into the church.

When the fire was extinguiſhed, the burial office was performed with great ſolemnity, and the funeral oration was delivered by Gilbert, biſhop of Evereux, who, with ſix other prelates, attended the burial. Juſt as they were going to inter the corpſe, the funeral

neral met with a freſh interruption from one Aſcelin Fitz Arthur, a vavaſor, who puſhed through the crowd and claimed the ſpot, as belonging to him by inheritance; aſſerting, that it had been the area of his father's houſe, and was unjuſtly ſeized by the deceaſed; for which he ſummoned him to anſwer before the divine tribunal. The prelates finding, on examination, that Fitz Arthur had aſſerted nothing but truth, agreed to give him thirty Sols for leave to bury the dead, and promiſed to make him ſatisfaction for his eſtate.

When the corpſe was to be put in the ground, the grave was either too narrow, or the ſtone coffin too ſtreight, ſo that in trying to force it down, the belly of the deceaſed burſt, and occaſioned ſuch an intolerable ſtench, that the prelates were obliged to hurry over the ſervice as faſt as they could.

If we ſhould have recourſe to authours for the character of this prince, we ſhall find ourſelves bewildered in a maze of contradictions, and involved in an inextricable perplexity: and though we ſhould endeavour to draw it from a retroſpect of his actions, and the general tenour of his conduct, we muſt even then acknowledge that his life was ſo various, that contrarieties muſt be admitted, and that truth itſelf is reconcilable with

with contradictions. With reſpect to his natural parts, we muſt own them to have been ſtrong; his judgment was refined by reflection, and corrected by experience; he had a genius which always aſpired at ſomething great; a capacity that led him to foreſee all the difficulties which would attend his enterprizes; a ſteadineſs which rendered him obſtinate in purſuing his reſolutions; and an activity of mind that ſecured ſucceſs by its impetuoſity. Trained to hardſhips from his infancy, he knew not what it was to be fatigued, and bore the heats of ſummer, and the inclemencies of winter, with a ſurprizing degree of reſolution. In the midſt of troubles, he availed himſelf of every circumſtance that might turn them to his advantage, and make them confirm the government, they were intended to deſtroy. He was eſteemed the greateſt politician of his age: but at the ſame time it muſt be acknowleged, that his political wiſdom carried with it the appearance of craft: and that he would often, in the diſpoſal of lands, aſſume the character of an auctioneer, inſtead of that of a monarch. Though he was covetous, he was ſtill profuſe, ſhewing no leſs ardour in the acquiſition of riches, than extravagance in the diſpoſal of them. He knew the ſecret of timing his meaſures, as well as the art of chooſing them: and with

reſpect

reſpect to his government, it muſt be acknowledged that it ſavoured of his natural diſpoſition, which was haughty and imperious, turbulent and vindictive. His external regard for religion was ſuch as acquired him the reputation of being devout. In his attendance at divine ſervice he was conſtant: his behaviour to the clergy was mild, courteous and obliging; though at the ſame time he never ſuffered any perſon to diſpute his will with impunity, and was inexorable in all caſes where he had received any great affront. His attempt upon this kingdom was ſuch as ſhowed him to be capable of the greateſt undertakings, and would perhaps have involved any other perſon in inevitable ruin. The Danes had made ſeveral deſcents with greater forces for a ſeries of years without ſucceſs; but, by his conduct, he not only gained footing in the iſland, but likewiſe got poſſeſſion of the crown by a ſingle engagement. The manner in which he maintained himſelf on the throne, was ſuch as muſt caſt eternal infamy on his memory, and deliver him down to poſterity as a perjured tyrant. Not ſatisfied with diſpoſſeſſing the natives of their eſtates, without any crime, or with impriſoning, baniſhing and murdering the Engliſh nobility, he ſet aſide the laws he had ſworn to obſerve, trampled on the conſtitution he had

had promiſed to maintain, and deſtroyed infinite numbers of perſons by fire, ſword and famine, with an inhumanity not to be paralleled. Though he pretended to be a great friend to the monaſtic life, he plundered the rich monaſteries of their treaſures, robbed them of their privileges, changed the nature of their charters, and ſubjected their land to military ſervice. Too partial to his own countrymen, he enriched them with the ſpoils of the innocent, and placed them in all the poſts of profit, which were to be found in this kingdom. Yet amidſt the gloom of defects ſome ſhining qualities burſt forth with redoubled ſplendour. The noble ſtand he made againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, convinces us that he was perfectly acquainted with his true intereſts, and poſſeſſed of a magnanimity really heroic. Though in ſome caſes he was inexorably ſevere, yet there want not inſtances to ſhow he knew how to pardon the greateſt criminals, even ſuch as had engaged in rebellion, and privately ſought his life. Though Edgar Etheling rebelled twice againſt him, he gave him his pardon, and aſſigned him a ſtipend for his maintenance. Waltheof, Siward, Morcar and Edric met with the ſame favour.

His laws, which are very numerous, ſhow him to have had a great regard for the

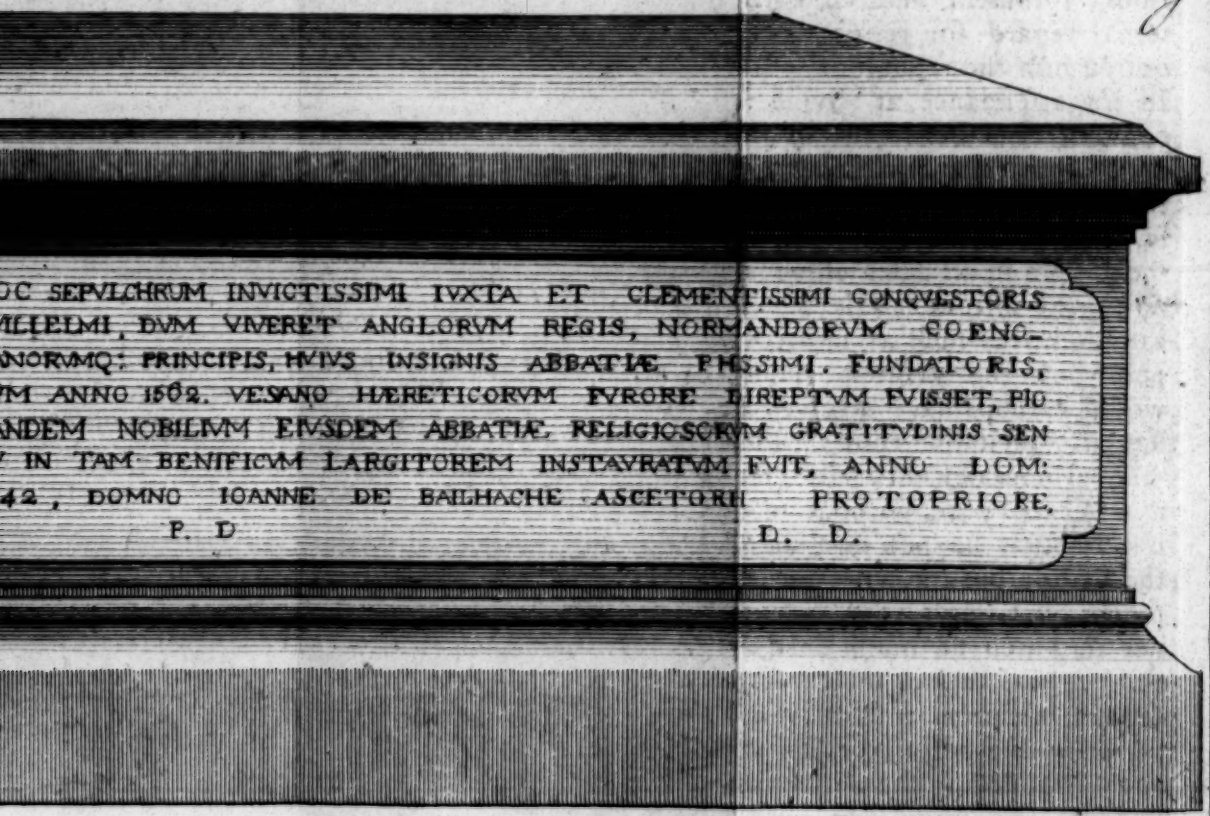
preſervation of private property, an invincible enmity to every vice, and an implacable averſion to every kind of corruption or partiality.

His ſtatutes againſt lewdneſs and murder are remarkably ſevere, as well as thoſe which concern the rights of the church. The law, now in force, whereby women are reprieved during their pregnancy, was enacted by this king, and is a ſtrong indication of his humanity and his equity.

The extenſiveneſs of his power was very conſiderable; beſides Normandy, which was his right by birth, and England, which he obtained by conqueſt, great part of Wales was under his dominion, he ſubdued the iſle of Angleſey, conquered Scotland by force of arms, and would have been maſter of Ireland, if he had lived but two years longer. To ſum up his character in a few words: as a huſband, he was affectionate; as a parent, indulgent; as a friend, he was conſtant; as a Norman, a lover of his country; and as a king of England, a glorious tyrant.

His aſpect was awfully ſevere, his forehead high, and his hair very thin; his ſtature was tall and graceful; his habit of body corpulent, but his limbs well proportioned; his conſtitution was robuſt and fit to bear hardſhips, and the articulation of his joints, and

WILLIAM the CONQUEROR at CAEN in Normandy



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

and the ſtrength of his muſcles ſo great, that there was ſcarce a man of his age who could draw his bow *.

By his wife Mathilda he left four ſons and five daughters: Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him in the duchy of Normandy; Richard, the ſecond ſon, was killed in the New Foreſt; William and Henry ſucceeded him in the throne of England; Cecilia, his eldeſt daughter, was at firſt a nun at Feſcamp, and afterwards an Abbeſs of a monaſtery at Caen; Conſtance married Alan Fergant, duke of Britagne; Adda, or Adela, married Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom ſhe had four ſons, the youngeſt of which named Stephen, acceded to the crown of England; Margaret, who died in her infancy, and Eleanora, married to Alphonſo, king of Gallicia.

* In the laſt year of his reign, almoſt all the chief cities in England were conſumed by fire, amongſt which the greateſt part of London, together with the cathedral of St. Paul's, was reduced to aſhes.

WILLIAM II. ſurnam'd RUFUS. A. D. 1087.

WILLIAM, ſurnamed Rufus, from the redneſs of his complexion or the colour of his hair, had been diſpatched for England by his father, a little before he expired; but was overtaken by the news of his death, as he waited at Witſand for a favourable wind. He thought it his intereſt to conceal this event from the Engliſh, till he had taken his meaſures for ſecuring the crown.

On his arrival he went with Bloet, his father's chaplain, to Lanfranc archbiſhop of Canterbury, in order to deliver the letter which the late king had written in his favour. This application had its deſired effect, and, by ſecuring the archbiſhop in his intereſt, rendered his acceſſion more eaſy than it would have been, on account of the roughneſs of his diſpoſition, which made him odious to the Normans as well as the Engliſh.

Lanfranc's affection for Rufus was very great, on account of his having knighted him, and having been entruſted with his education; but it was not ſolely to the archbiſhop's credit, that Rufus owed his elevation; the attach-

The Great Seal of **WILLIAM RUFUS.**

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH MUSEUM

attachment of * Eudes, his father's steward, was not less serviceable on this occasion. This nobleman not only secured the cinque ports of Dover, Winchester, Pevensey, Hastings, &c. in his favour, but likewise made him master of the conqueror's treasure, amounting to sixty thousand pounds weight of silver, besides plate and jewels to an immense value. Having performed this necessary service, Eudes returned to William at Winchester †, who thought it now a proper crisis for making his father's death public. As it was expedient to prevent any attempts that the partizans of Robert might make in his favour, Lanfranc used all his ‡ influence in behalf of his pupil; and having engaged a powerful party on William's side, in an as-

 sembly

* From the manuscript history of the foundation of the abbey of Colchester, in the Cottonian Library at the British Museum, marked *Nero*, D. 8.

† During the absence of Eudes, William had imprisoned earl Morcar, and Wulnoth king Harold's son, who had been set at liberty by his father, and came over with him into England.

‡ Rumours were spread abroad among the English, that the prince intended to govern in a manner very different from the king his father; that he would give an ear to their just complaints, redress their grievances, and abolish the game laws, which were the cause of universal murmurings. Besides this, it was suggested that they should be restored partly to their estates, and reinstated in their ancient privileges.

ſembly conſiſting of the archbiſhop of York, eight other biſhops, and ſome of the principal nobility, * he crowned him at Weſtminſter on Sunday the twenty-ſeventh of September, which was about eighteen days after his father's death.

As ſoon as William was placed on the throne, he endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with his ſubjects, by every act of popularity; he diſtributed his father's treaſure to the churches, counties, and poor; and beſtowed the reſt in largeſſes to the ſoldiery, in order to fix them in his intereſt. The Engliſh nation began to think themſelves diſappointed in their expectations of his conduct; they expected nothing but brutal ſeverity, whereas he behaved to them with paternal fondneſs, and affected to be guided entirely by the advice of Lanfranc, who was univerſally eſteemed for his wiſdom, and beloved for his humanity. This alteration in the conduct of William, inſpired the Engliſh with the hope of as great a one in their fortunes; and as the new king paid his court peculiarly to their nation, they were more ſtrongly attached to his intereſts, and reſolute to maintain his rights againſt all oppoſers.

Robert

* He took an oath "well to obſerve juſtice, equity, "and mercy; to maintain the peace, liberties, and "privileges of the church; and to follow the archbiſhop's counſel in his adminiſtration." *Eadmer*, fol. 13.

Robert received the news of his father's death at Abberville, from whence he repaired to Rouen, took poſſeſſion of Normandy without oppoſition, and was * inveſted with the ſword of the duchy. Perhaps he might wiſh to have ſucceeded to the kingdom of England, but the natural indolence of his temper made him ſit down ſeemingly contented with the duchy of Normandy, till ſome favourable circumſtances ſhould happen, and render his acquiſition more practicable.

Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, was his firſt counſellor, and had the chief direction of the affairs of his duchy. This prelate's ambition and avarice not being ſatisfied with the poſt he held under the duke of Normandy, he went over into England, when William Rufus was celebrating his Chriſtmas at London, in order to ſollicit the reſtitution of his eſtate, which had been ſeized by the conquerour. The favourable reception he received from William, and the ſucceſs he met with in his ſuit, were far from ſatisfying his ambition, or extinguiſhing his malice; he was determined to dethrone Rufus. The credit in which he found Lanfranc at his coming over, gave him no ſmall umbrage; he had burnt with revenge againſt him, ever ſince

* This ceremony was equivalent to coronation in thoſe parts.

since he had advised the conquerour to prevent his journey to Rome; and was more obstinately bent to depose the new king, because his favourite would be involved in his ruin; and he was certain that if Robert succeeded, he should himself possess the place of prime minister.

He communicated his design to Eustace count of Boulogne, Robert de Belesme, and other Norman barons, who had great estates in England, thought the tenure of their lands to be very precarious, when held by different sovereigns, likely to be at perpetual variance, and were on that account ready to contribute their assistance to unite both sovereignties under one person. This consideration, together with the right of primo-geniture, easily determined them to enter into the conspiracy.

Odo having met with so much success among the Normans, was encouraged to try his influence with the English, without whose concurrence he knew that his designs must miscarry. In order to engage the latter to his party, he artfully represented the different characters of the two brothers; and set their qualities in such a contrast, as must determine them to declare in favour of the elder brother. The good nature, mildness, and generosity of Robert, was extolled in the highest terms; the haughty, violent, and

and ſavage diſpoſition of William Rufus, was painted in the moſt frightful colours; he was repreſented as governed by caprice, diveſted of honeſty, and void of every principle of piety. Not content with framing this contraſt, Odo added, that juſtice itſelf required the crown to be given to the firſt-born, unleſs he had been guilty of ſome crime which rendered him unfit to bear it; but as nothing of that nature could be objected to Robert, there could be no reaſon aſſigned for his being deprived of it.

By theſe perſuaſions, Odo engaged his brother Robert, count de Mortain; Geoffrey, biſhop of Coutances; Roger, earl of Shrewſbury; Hugh de Grente-Meſnil; William de Carilef, biſhop of Durham; and ſeveral other noblemen, to embark in the conſpiracy.

* Odo's intrigues being thus crowned with ſucceſs, he ſent an account of his progreſs to Robert, informing him that nothing but a body of Norman troops, and his preſence, was wanting to recover the crown unjuſtly uſurped by his brother.

Robert received this intelligence with no ſmall pleaſure, but, being no œconomiſt, he had laviſhed immenſe ſums in promiſcuous liberalities, and his exchequer was ſo much exhauſted, that he was obliged to borrow the

* A. D. 1088.

the ſum of three thouſand pounds of his brother Henry, on a mortgage of the Contantin, which was one third of the whole duchy of Normandy. After this expedient, he ſent word back to his uncle that he ſhould be in England with a conſiderable body of forces, and deſired him to prepare his friends for an open revolt.

The conſpirators truſting to theſe aſſurances, put themſelves in motion, by fortifying their reſpective caſtles, and raiſing all the forces they could in their ſeveral quarters. Odo, who was endued rather with brutal fierceneſs than true fortitude, was the firſt perſon who gave the ſignal to the reſt of the conſpirators, by fortifying Rocheſter, and making excurſions into the king's and archbiſhop's lands, ſituated in Kent. Grent-Meſnil made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong places in Leiceſterſhire, and deſolated the county. Roger Bigot roſe in Norfolk, and ſeized the caſtle of Norwich. Geoffrey biſhop of Coutances, and his nephew William d'Eu, ſecured Bath, Berkly, and Briſtol, ſtoring the laſt place with ammunition, and intending it for their chief magazine: afterwards they ravaged Glouceſterſhire and Wilſhire, and, penetrating into Somerſetſhire, inveſted Ilcheſter, but were repulſed by the bravery of the beſieged. The county of Worceſter was occupied by Bernard de Newark,

Newark, lord of Brecknock; Oſbern Fitz Richard, ſurnamed Scrope; Roger de Lacey, and Ralph Mortimer, who made an attempt upon Worceſter; but were obliged, by biſhop Wulſtan, to raiſe the ſiege and quit the country. Had Robert made good his aſſurances, and joined the conſpirators at this juncture, it is probable that he might have dethroned his brother; but his indolence defeated every meaſure that was taken in his behalf.

On the contrary, William exerted himſelf with incredible activity to ſtifle the conſpiracy, before his brother could have it in his power to join the conſpirators. In this criſis Lanfranc, by his influence, kept all the prelates in his intereſt; and ſeveral noblemen, who took up arms againſt the inſurgents, contributed to render others firm in their attachments, at the ſame time as they intimidated the malecontented from declaring for the conſpirators.

The archbiſhop adviſed the king to conciliate the affections of the Engliſh on this occaſion, and to amuſe them by promiſes of leſſening their taxes, and allowing them free liberty of hunting. This expedient operated very ſtrongly on the Engliſh, but more eſpecially upon the Londoners, who raiſed no leſs than thirty thouſand men for his ſervice. The primate, not ſatisfied with having

ing caſt ſo great a weight on the ſide of the king, had the addreſs to detach ſeveral of the chief perſons from the conſpiracy, among whom was Roger earl of Shrewſbury, who, by deſerting the cauſe, broke the force of the malecontents in the marches of Wales.

By means of theſe reſources, William was ſoon enabled to ſend a fleet to ſea, to diſpute his brother's landing, and to march at the head of an Engliſh army againſt Tunbridge, which was occupied by Gilbert Fitz Richard, who ſurrendering after a ſiege of two days, he marched towards Rocheſter, whither Odo and the chief conſpirators had retired to wait for the ſuccours expected from Normandy.

Odo, on advice of the king's march, quitted Rocheſter and repaired to a caſtle belonging to his brother Robert, on the coaſt of Suſſex. William being apprized of his flight, altered his route and followed him to Pevenſey, which place he took after a ſiege of ſix weeks, in which it was reduced by famine: the beſt terms that Odo could make was to have his life, on condition of his abjuring the realm and putting the king in poſſeſſion of Rocheſter.

He was conducted to the city by a ſmall eſcorte; but when he was come near the walls, the beſieged made a ſally, took the convoy

convoy priſoners, and committed Odo himſelf to cloſe cuſtody.

William came up ſoon after with his whole army and took the town, the garriſon retiring to the caſtle, which they defended with great obſtinacy, in expectation of being relieved by the ſuccours which Robert had promiſed them. This indolent prince had indeed ſent over a ſingle ſhip, with a conſiderable body of men on board, which was intercepted by the Engliſh, and all the forces either taken or drowned. The beſieged finding themſelves diſappointed of the ſuccours which they expected, and a peſtilential diſeaſe making great havock among the garriſon, offered to capitulate on condition of having their eſtates ſecured to them. But William intending to make them ſurrender at diſcretion, rejected their terms, and was preparing to take the place by ſtorm, when he was diverted from his deſign by the ſollicitations of ſeveral noblemen in his army, who had relations in the caſtle, and prevailed upon him to give them leave to march out with their horſes and arms, and to go abroad, without any proſpect of recovering their eſtates.

After the reduction of Rocheſter William marched againſt Durham, in order to chaſtize the biſhop, for having engaged with the conſpirators; the garriſon being very

weak, it was ſurrendered as ſoon as the army appeared under its walls, and the biſhop was baniſhed.

* The ſuppreſſion of this rebellion confirmed William Rufus in the throne, who inſtead of performing his promiſes to the the Engliſh, as a reward for their ſervices and their fidelity, no ſooner ſaw himſelf ſecure, than he oppreſſed them more cruelly than his late father. He had promiſed to allow them free liberty of hunting, inſtead of which he increaſed the rigour of the foreſt laws, making it capital to kill a deer, and introduced the method of lawing or maiming dogs, by which the gentry were entirely deprived of their favourite diverſion.

Lanfranc aſtoniſhed at this breach of faith, took the liberty of making gentle remonſtrances on the ſubject, but ſo much incenſed the king, that he aſked him, with great warmth, attended with an oath, "Whether he thought it poſſible for a king "to keep all his promiſes." The liberty the archbiſhop had taken loſt him the king's favour, but he did not long ſurvive his diſgrace, and when he died was lamented by both nations as one of the worthieſt prelates that had ever filled the ſee of Canterbury.

William had been forced during Lanfranc's life, to put a reſtraint upon his behaviour

* A D. 1089.

haviour for fear of incurring his diſpleaſure, but being freed from ſo diſagreeable a monitor, he gave a looſe to his paſſions, and indulged his avarice in extorting money from his ſubjects. Though he was covetous he knew not how to keep the money he acquired, and was poſſeſſed by two vices that are directly oppoſite, by avarice and prodigality. The clergy were great ſufferers on this occaſion, by his ſeizing on the firſt-fruits, keeping the vacant benefices in his hands for ſeveral years, and appropriating the revennes to his own uſe.

By the advice of * Ralph Flambard, he ordered a new ſurvey to be taken of all the lands of the kingdom, from a perſuaſion that the account taken in the conquerour's time was neither exact nor juſt, and wherever the number of acres exceeded the proportion regiſtered in the former entry aſſumed the ſurplus as his own, at the ſame time as he raiſed the taxes upon ſuch as he

* Though he is, by Ordericus Vitalis, ſtiled a Plebeian, and is ſaid to be the ſon of a preſbyter of Bayeux, yet according to Carte, he ſeems to have been no inconſiderable perſon, in the time of the conquerour, being mentioned in the domeſday book as one of the king's immediate tenants by knight's ſervice in Hampſhire. Before he became a prelate he had a ſeat in the great council of the nobility of the kingdom, and was juſticiary, or as the continuator of Simeon of Durham expreſſes it, *totius regni procurator*.

thought undervalued. This office, and a degree of insolence which run through his whole conduct, rendered Lambard so odious to the nation that they were resolved to get rid of him some way or other.

With this design he was trepanned on board a vessel by the artifice of one Gerold, under pretence that Maurice, bishop of London, was lying at the point of death, and would be glad to speak with him before he expired. Gerold having got him into his boat, under pretence of carrying him to the bishop's barge, conveyed him on board a ship which weighed anchor and put to sea. Two assassins, who were prepared to dispatch him for the sake of his cloaths, falling out about the parting of them, his death was deferred; when, a storm arose, one of the assassins repented of his design, and acquainting the bishop with his intention, the prelate, by his artful address, prevailed on Gerold to set him on shore; from whence he sent for a guard, and was conveyed in a triumphant manner to London.

The ill success of this conspiracy against William's minister, did not hinder several of the prelates and nobility from entering into a plot against the king himself. But this project was soon frustrated by the vigilance of Lambard, who gained over some of the chiefs,

chiefs, and ſending others into baniſhment, amongſt whom was Ivo de Taillebois, who was the very hinge upon whom all the conſpiracy was ſuſpended.

William being thus freed from his apprehenſions in England, began to turn his thoughts upon Normandy, and conceived a deſign of depriving Robert of that duchy, in return for the attempt he had made to rob him of the crown of England. The ſtate of Normandy favoured William's deſigns beyond his moſt ſanguine expectations. Robert's indolence had given ſuch encouragement to robbers, that his province was a ſcene of confuſion, bloodſhed and rapine. Henry apprehenſive of his ſeizing Contantin, had endeavoured to diſcipline the inhabitants for its defence, but not truſting to ſo precarious a bulwark, repaired to England under a pretence of demanding his mother's jointure, and concerted meaſures with William to attack his brother in ſuch a manner as might promiſe ſucceſs.

Rufus, thinking it adviſeable to have the approbation of his council before he engaged in an affair of ſo great importance, laid the ſtate of Normandy before them, and obtained their ſanction for his proceedings.

After making preparations for his designs, he landed in Normandy before his brother had time to defend himself, and carried St. Vallery, Albermarle, and some other places without the least resistance.

* In this extremity Robert applied to the court of France for succours, but William having found means to detach the French king from his alliance, he was left in such circumstances, as exposed him to all the calamities of war.

William continued making himself master of one place after another, and had carried on a secret negotiation with Conon governour of Roüen, who had promised to make him master of that city.

Henry, who had no reason to depend on the affection of either of his brothers, but had more to dread from the designs of William than those of Robert, joined the latter on this occasion, and came just time enough to prevent the execution of Conon's treachery, whom he ordered to be thrown headlong from the top of a tower, and afterwards took possession of the city for his elder brother.

† The miscarriage of this enterprize made William resolve to prosecute the war with greater vigour, and he passed the sea the succeeding spring with a strong fleet and a numerous

* A. D. 1090. † A. D. 1091.

numerous army. On his debarking he forced Robert to raiſe the ſiege of Curcey, which he had inveſted for ſome time.

William being encamped near Ville de Eu, was viſited by moſt of the nobles of Normandy, ſeveral of which having eſtates in both countries, were incited by intereſt to endeavour to bring on an accommodation between the two brothers. Their labours having the deſired effect, a peace was made, on condition that Robert ſhould reſign the county of Eu, the caſtle of Aumales, the abbey of Feſchamp, and all the places that had been taken, to William; in lieu of which Robert was to receive an equivalent in England, and the Engliſh eſtates of ſuch as had taken part with him were to be reſtored; William was to aſſiſt him in recovering the county of Main, and all the places in Normandy which were in the hands of the rebels. Beſides this it was ſtipulated between the two brothers, that in default of iſſue they ſhould ſucceed to each others dominions.

Henry, finding himſelf left out of the treaty, was very much chagrined, and reſolving to take ſatisfaction by force of arms made himſelf maſter of Mont Michel by ſurprize. Robert, unwilling to loſe a place of ſuch importance, deſired William to aſſiſt him in reducing it. The place was fortified by nature, being ſituated on a rock waſhed

washed by the sea, and twice a day surrounded by the tide. The two brothers having taken possession of Contantin, advanced to the siege of St. Michael, which could be formed no other way than by blockade.

One day as William was riding alone at some distance from the camp, he espied two men on horseback coming from the castle, and rid up to them with great impetuosity in order to make one of them prisoner. The soldiers finding themselves attacked by a single person stood on their defence, but William's horse being killed in the beginning of the encounter, overturned, and his foot being entangled in the stirrup, lay upon him in such a manner as it was impossible for him to disengage himself. While he lay in this distress, one of the soldiers had lifted up his hand in order to deprive him of life, but he crying out in a menacing tone, "Hold, villain, I am the king of England;" the soldiers were seized with such veneration, that they helped him up, and mounted him upon one of their own horses. William sprung into the saddle with great alacrity, and addressing himself to the soldier, who had spared his life, bid him follow him, and promised to make his fortune.

The siege proceeded but slowly on account of the strength of the place; at last Henry was reduced to great distress for want

want of freſh water, and knowing Robert's generoſity he ſent to him for a ſupply, repreſenting "that it was more glorious to "ſubdue him by arms than by thirſt." The duke anſwered his expectations with a ready compliance with his requeſt, in permitting the garriſon to ſupply themſelves with as much water as they wanted, and at the ſame time ſent him a pipe of wine for his own drinking. William not at all pleaſed with this act of generoſity, reproached Robert with it as a piece of unſeaſonable good-nature, and fooliſh complaiſance. Who in return could not refrain from aſking him; "Whether the quarrel between them and "and their brother was of ſuch a nature, "that they ſhould wiſh to have him die "of thirſt? We may have occaſion, added "he, for a brother hereafter; but where "ſhall we find another when we have de-"ſtroyed this?" Theſe inſtances of humanity during the rage of war were ſo incompatible with the ſavageneſs of William's temper, that he is reported, by hiſtorians, to have quitted the ſiege in diſguſt. Robert however perſiſted in it, notwithſtanding the difficulties he met with, and at laſt obliged the town ſurrender upon terms. Henry retired to Bretagn, and wandered about for two years, attended only by a chaplain, and three or four domeſtics, ſometimes reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs.

About

About the ſame time Edgar Atheling having repaired to Normandy, on his return from Paleſtine, was obliged to quit that country, and being forbidden to enter England, retired to Scotland, his uſual aſylum.

* Whilſt William was engaged in Normandy, Malcolm king of the Scots, took the advantage of his abſence to ravage the country of Northumberland, and † though beaten back by the inhabitants carried off a conſiderable booty.

The people in the north complaining loudly at the king's leaving his frontiers expoſed to the ravages of foreigners, while he was amuſing himſelf in unneceſſary expeditions abroad, Rufus haſtened his return, and prevailed on his brother to come over to make the campaign with him.

William made conſiderable preparations to attack the Scots both by ſea and land; but the ſucceſs of the war was far from anſwering his expectations. The fleet fitted out to annoy the coaſts of Scotland, not being ready 'till Michaelmas, ſuffered greatly by ſtorms, and was diſabled from attempting any thing of conſequence. The two brothers advanced with the army by land as far as Scotwater, where they received

* A. Dom. 1091.
† From Simeon of Durham.

ceived a meſſage from Malcolm, importing that as he owed William nothing, he had nothing to offer him but a battle: but if Robert was with him, he was ready to give him homage for Cumberland, as the eldeſt ſon of the conquerour.

In conſequence of this meſſage, a council of war was held, in which it was thought expedient to come to an accommodation, as the army was greatly diminiſhed and diſpirited by ſickneſs, fatigue, and want of proviſions; and the fleet, which had a conſiderable body of men on board, deſigned to make a diverſion, was diſperſed and partly deſtroyed by a ſtorm.

Robert, by the conſent of the council, being diſpatched to the Scottiſh camp with a few attendants, was received with great hoſpitality by Malcolm, who aſſured him his army was raiſed purely to cauſe a diverſion in his favour; but being informed by the duke of his reconciliation with William, and ſeconded by the perſuaſions of Edgar Atheling, then in the Scottiſh camp, he conſented to a peace with Rufus. By this treaty Malcolm was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Cumberland, for which he did homage, and was to receive an annual ſtipend of twelve marks of gold.

Edgar Atheling was at the ſame time reconciled to William, whom he attended to London.

Robert,

Robert, finding his brother now at leisure, was in hopes that he would have made good that part of the treaty between them, which remained as yet unperformed; but finding that his brother only cajoled him with fair promises, returned home in a pique, and took Edgar Atheling along with him.

While William was engaged in Scotland, the county of Glamorgan in Wales was conquered by Robert Fitz Hamon, gentleman of his bedchamber, who had served Jestyn, lord of Glamorgan, against Rees, king of Wales, on certain conditions, which he refused to fulfil at the end of the war. Incensed at this instance of ingratitude, Fitz Hamon resolved to right himself with his sword; he accordingly assembled his friends and adherents, attacked Jestyn, slew him, and took possession of his kingdom.

Thus becoming master of the country, Fitz Hamon rewarded the twelve knights *, who

* The names of these knights, and the possessions assigned them, are still extant in an old British record, and are as follows:

NAMES.	POSSESSIONS.
William de Londres,	Ogmor.
Richard de Grana Villa,	Neth.
Pagan de Turberville,	Coity.
Robert de Quintin,	Lhan Blethyan.
Richard de Liward,	Talavan.
Gilbert de Humfreville,	Penmarke.

Roger

who accompanied him in this expedition; with certain lands, which are in the poſſeſſion of ſuch of their heirs, as are ſtill ſurviving.

Robert, upon his return to his own dominions, found his brother Henry in poſſeſſion of Danfront, and all the Contantin: nor was it in his power to wreſt this territory from that young prince, who was privately ſupported by William.

Rufus, notwithſtanding the ſervices Robert had ſo lately done him in the Scottiſh war, and the treaties ſtill ſubſiſting between them, embraced every opportunity of debauching the Norman lords from their allegiance, and engaging them to fortify their caſtles for his ambitious deſigns.

While he took theſe meaſures for paving the way to the conqueſt of Normandy, he exerciſed his authority at home in impoſing new taxes upon corporations, by which, though he filled his coffers, he entailed upon himſelf the curſes both of the Engliſh and Normans.

At length they flattered themſelves that heaven had regarded their prayers, as the

Roger de Beckrolles, ...	Eaſt Orchard.
Raynold de Sully, ...	Sully.
Peter de Loore, ...	Peterton.
John de Lleming, ...	St. George.
Oliver de St. John, ...	Fonmon.
William de Eſterling, ...	St. Donats.

king was ſuddenly ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper at Glouceſter. William was himſelf of opinion, that he had not long to live, and being affected with the diſcourſes of the prelates who attended him, diſcovered ſome ſigns of repentance. He entered into reſolutions of amending his life, and correcting the errors of his government, providing he had the good fortune to recover his health. The attending biſhops embraced this favourable opportunity of exhorting him to fill the vacant benefices; and of repreſenting his appropriation of the church's revenues, as an immoveable obſtacle to his ſalvation. The apprehenſion of death had ſuch an effect upon him, that he immediately conformed to their exhortations.

Robert Bloet, one of his councellors, was promoted to the biſhopric of Lincoln; and Anſelm, abbot of Bec in Normandy, to the ſee of Canterbury. But before Anſelm could be prevailed on to accept of his dignity, he inſiſted upon the king's reſtoring to the ſee of Canterbury, all that belonged to it at the death of Lanfranc, which Rufus promiſed faithfully to comply with.

Rufus, however, finding his health returning, delayed, on various pretences, to make a reſtitution of the church land; and at length abſolutely refuſed it: he even

deſired

desired the archbishop, to confirm those grants, but Anselm would never comply with any thing which he thought inconsistent with the interest of the church, and the dignity of his character. This was the source of a quarrel that produced abundance of mischief.

All the promises of William in his distemper were absolutely forgotten at his recovery. The prisoners whom he had discharged, were now remanded to close prison; he returned to his old courses with redoubled appetite. His government was the exertion of the most despotic power manifested in every shape of violence and extortion. Justice was banished from the tribunals, which were filled with venal and corrupt judges, who pursued no other end but that of enriching themselves with the spoils of the people. All persons in office, seemed to have been appointed for plundering, not protecting the subject; the public money was embezzled by those who had the management of it; all honours and rewards were engrossed by pandors, parasites, and informers; and no man could expect to ininsinuate himself into the king's favour, until he had taken his leave of honour, conscience, humanity and religion.

Thus distressed by the united powers of tyranny, profligacy, and corruption, many

of the people reſolved to abandon their native country; but even this wretched comfort was prohibited by an edict, forbidding ſubjects to quit the kingdom without the king's permiſſion.

The inſolence and perfidy of William were felt by all mankind, ſo far as they were concerned with him either as friends or enemies. Malcolm having ſent his embaſſadors to demand the performance of the articles in the late treaty, touching the lands of Cumberland to be ceded in his favour: he deſired the Scotiſh king would come in perſon to his court at Glouceſter, where he ſhould have juſtice. Malcolm condeſcended to his requeſt, and was received with ſo much haughtineſs and inſolence by Rufus, who told him he muſt ſubmit his cauſe to the determination of the Engliſh peers: that he rejected the conditions with diſdain, propoſing in his turn to have the diſpute determined by the nobility of both kingdoms aſſembled on the borders, according to ancient cuſtom. William refuſing to hearken to this equitable propoſal, the treaty was broken off, and Malcolm returned to his own country, glowing with indignation at the indignities he had ſuffered.

He forthwith aſſembled an army, and invaded Northumberland, which he ravaged as far as Alnewick; the ſiege of which he

carried

carried on with great vigour, until the garriſon was reduced to extremity. The governor, whoſe name was Roel, demanded a capitulation; and, on pretence of preſenting the keys to Malcolm on the point of a ſpear, thruſt the weapon into his eye, and killed him on the ſpot. His ſon Edward was ſlain at the ſame time. A body of troops prepared for the purpoſe, ſallied out upon the Scotch army, at a time when they thought hoſtilities had ceaſed, and were o er-whelmed with conſternation at the murder of their king, and his ſon, which put them to flight in the utmoſt diſorder, and purſued them with great ſlaughter.

The body of Malcolm was carried in a cart by two peaſants to Tinmouth, where they committed it to the earth; but it was afterwards removed to Dumferling, and interred in the church which he had founded. Margaret, his queen, was ſo affected at his death, that ſhe ſurvived the news of it but three days. His fate was very much regretted, not only by his own ſubjects, but alſo by the Engliſh, with whom he left ſeveral monuments of his liberality and devotion; particularly the cathedral at Durham, which was erected at his expence. He was a virtuous and valiant prince, and a generous benefactor; a faithful friend, and an hoſpitable protector of all the Engliſh who retired

to this kingdom to escape the tyranny of the conquerour.

Though Malcolm left several children of his own, his brother Donald ascended the throne, and expelled all the English whom the late king had so remarkably favoured; among whom was Edgar Atheling, who retired to England with his nephews the sons of Malcolm. Donald's next care was to assemble an army, and revenge his brother's death. Towards the latter end of the summer he made an irruption into England, and laid waste the country with fire and sword.

Rufus, receiving information of these ravages, sent a body of troops against him, under the command of Duncan, natural son of Malcolm, who then resided at the English court, and on whom the order of knighthood had been conferred by Robert duke of Normandy.

As he advanced, Donald withdrew into Scotland; but was so closely pursued, that he was obliged to hazard a battle, though greatly inferiour in number to the English, by whom he was routed, and compelled to fly to the western isles for shelter.

By means of this victory, Duncan ascended the throne with the consent of his people; but as he kept an English guard about his person, the Scots were so incensed at this

this mark of his partiality to foreigners, that they ſurprized and put them all to the ſword.

Duncan imagining this conſpiracy was aimed at his own perſon, fled with great precipitation; but was recalled by his ſubjects, and replaced upon the throne, on condition that he would not, for the future, bring any ſtrangers into Scotland. He was afterwards murdered by Malpait, earl of Merns, at the inſtigation of Donald, who reſumed the reins of government *.

† Rufus being freed from Malcolm, a powerful and dangerous enemy, found himſelf at leiſure to invade the territories of his own brother Robert. This prince, weary of the pretences he made for delaying the execution of the treaty, ſent over ambaſſadors to inſiſt upon the immediate performance of the articles; or, on his refuſal, to denounce war againſt him as a perjured prince.

This peremptory command was by William rejected with diſdain, and he forthwith invaded Normandy with a powerful armament. However, to give ſome colour for his hoſtilities, he propoſed an interview with Robert, to whom he made ſome propoſals, which were rejected.

A ſecond conference was opened in the preſence of all the barons, who had witneſſed

* A. D. 1093. † A. D. 1094.

ſed and ſworn to guaranty the treaty; but this proved as fruitleſs as the former, becauſe William went over not with a deſign to effect an accommodation, but to make a conqueſt of the duchy.

Hoſtilities immediately commenced, and ſeveral towns were reduced by Rufus, who began to congratulate himſelf on the flattering proſpect of adding Normandy to his other dominions; when the king of France, unwilling to have ſuch a troubleſome neighbour, marched with an army to the aſſiſtance of Robert, and immediately changed the ſcene. They preſently retook all the towns and caſtle which Rufus had ſubdued, and garriſoned; and that prince was ſo greatly alarmed at their progreſs, that he ſent to England for a reinforcement of twenty thouſand men.

Being however well acquained with Philip's diſpoſition, he reſolved to aſſail him with other arms, which he could not withſtand. The new levies being aſſembled at their rendezvous on the ſea-ſide, Ralph Lambard, by the king's direction, robbed every ſoldier of the ten ſhillings which he had received in lieu of proviſion, and then diſbanded the whole body.

This ſum was immediately remitted to Rufus, at a time when Philip and Robert had advanced as far as Longueville, in their way

way to Eu, where they intended to beſiege him; but by a proper application of the money, the French army immediately diſappeared, and no tranſaction of conſequence diſtinguiſhed this war; from the proſecution of which, William was diverted by an inſurrection in Wales, and the advice of a conſpiracy formed againſt him in England.

We have already related how Robert Fitz Hamon, earl of Glouceſter, had taken poſſeſſion of Glamorganſhire, after having ſlain the ungrateful Teſtyn. About the ſame time, Roger earl of Shrewſbury reduced Montgomery; and his ſon Arnulph, having obtained a grant of Pembrokeſhire from the king, took poſſeſſion and built the caſtles of Pembroke, Cardigan, and other fortreſſes, to ſecure his acquiſition.

The Welch, inraged at theſe encroachments, attacked them in all their quarters, and expelled the Normans from all theſe ſettlements, but Pembroke-caſtle, which they could not reduce. They took Montgomery by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword; then over-running the counties of Cheſter, Salop, and Hereford, they ravaged and burned the whole country, maſſacring the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

The

The news of these devastations brought over William from Normandy, who, marching directly against the invaders, entered their country and repaired the castle of Montgomery; but the Welch, instead of hazarding a battle, retired to their woods and mountains, from whence they surprized his parties occasionally, and put them to the sword; so that he was obliged to return with disgrace.

The king renewed his attacks towards the end of the year, with the same ill success; and perceiving that he should never be able to subdue these people by the operations of a regular campaign, he ordered the wardens of the marches to reduce them by degrees, and maintain their conquests with strong castles.

This * second Expedition, however, was relinquished on account of receiving intelligence of the revolt of Robert Mowbray, who being elated with the victory over the Scots at Alnewick, obtained by his forces, thought the king could never sufficiently recompence him for this important service.

Rufus, whose soul was a stranger to gratitude or liberality, paid very little regard to his merit; and Mowbray resolved to take vengeance upon him for his neglect, by deposing

* A. D. 1095.

depoſing him and ſetting the crown upon the head of Stephen, count of Albemarle, the conquerour's nephew. In this dangerous plot he had found means to engage a great number of malcontented noblemen; and their meaſures were kept ſo ſecret, that the king did not receive intimation of their deſign, until he had entered Wales.

He inſtantly changed the object of his enterprize, and directed his march againſt Mowbray, who had fortified the caſtle of Bambury *. In his rout he would have fallen into an ambuſcade prepared by the revolters, had not Richard de Tunbridge, who was concerned in the conſpiracy, repented of his treaſon, and given William notice of his danger. When he arrived at Bambury, he found it impregnable, from the nature of its ſituation; and turning the ſiege into a blockade, erected a fortreſs called

* Previous to this ſtep, William, in order to come at the bottom of the conſpiracy, had ſummoned Mowbray to attend him in his court held in Wincheſter at Eaſter, and in Windſor at Whitſuntide, to anſwer for his plundering four merchantmen, that had put into an Engliſh port within his juriſdiction, embezzling their effects, and not reſtoring them according to the king's order, who on his neglect, had paid the value to the owners out of his Exchequer. Robert either conſcious of his guilt, or vain of his ſervices, refuſed to obey the ſummons, unleſs hoſtages were ſent him, and a ſafe conduct for his ſecurity in going and returning.

ed Meauvoiſin, or Bad Neighbour, ſo near it as to prevent ſupplies of proviſions from being carried to the beſieged; and having furniſhed this new fort with a ſtrong garriſon, retired with the reſt of his army.

During this blockade, Robert formed a ſcheme for ſurprizing Newcaſtle; but his motions were ſo narrowly watched by the troops in Meauvoiſin, that inſtead of carrying his point, he was forced to fly to the monaſtery of St. Oſwin at Tinmouth, in which he and all the officers were taken, after a deſperate reſiſtance. Morel, his kinſman and confidant, ſtill defended Bambury, till Robert was brought before the gate by the king's orders, and a meſſage was ſent to the governour and Mowbray's counteſs, who was in the place, importing that his eyes ſhould be put out, if they would not immediately ſurrender: they were ſo much ſhocked at the terms that they complied, and Robert was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment.

Morel ſaved his life by making an ample diſcovery of the plot, in which he is ſuſpected to have gone beyond the limits of truth, as a great many innocent perſons ſuffered with the guilty. Hugh earl of Shrewſbury obtained his pardon on paying the ſum of three thouſand pounds. Roger de Lacey eſcaping into France, his lands were confiſcated

fiſcated and given to his brother Eu, who had continued faithful to the king, Odo, count of Champaign, and many others were impriſoned and deprived of their eſtates.

The count being accuſed as an accomplice in the plot by Geoffrey Baynard, and there being no other witneſs, the count offered to proved his innocence in * ſingle combat. The liſts being accordingly incloſed, the day and judges were appointed, the duel was fought at Saliſbury, and the count being vanquiſhed was ſentenced to loſe his eyes and be deprived of his virility.

* This method of trial was in practice among the Friſians, Alemanni, Franks and Burgundians, and being introduced by the Normans, was allowed in caſes where the proofs were defective for want of witneſſes or other circumſtances. A piece of ground about eighty paces long, and forty broad, was incloſed with rails or liſts, within which the combatants fought, previous to which they were both to make oath one to the truth and the other to the falſity of the accuſation; the event determining which was right, the vanquiſhed was condemned and the victor acquitted. Women, eccleſiaſtics, ſick or infirm people, and all under twenty-one, or above ſixty years old, were excuſed from fighting in perſon, and might have their champions to fight in their ſtead, whoſe fate determined theirs. Theſe duels were attended with great ſolemnities, and abundance of ceremonies. That mentioned in the text, was in preſence of all the barons of England, on the octave of the Epiphany.

The latter part of this ſentence was added at the inſtigation of Hugh earl of Cheſter, on account of his having violated the marriage bed, by having three baſtards, after his wedding with his ſiſter. His couſin William de Alderi being accuſed at the ſame time, as concerned in the conſpiracy, was ſentenced to be hanged, notwithſtanding his proteſtation of his innocence, even at the place of execution, which was credited by the majority of the nation, on account of his piety, his penitence, the intrepidity with which he ſuffered, and ſome circumſtances which attended his death.

William had no ſooner extricated himſelf from this trouble, than he was involved in another, occaſioned by a quarrel with Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, on account of his incroachment upon the immunities of the church. This prelate, who was of a haughty diſpoſition might have carried his reſentment and reſolution too far, in acknowledging Urban II. as lawful pope, tho' he knew that the king was rather inclined to Clement; and a law had been enacted in the late reign forbidding all perſons from acknowledging any pope without the king's conſent. Anſelm in his defence, pretended that William had no right to interpoſe in church affairs, which occaſioned the

the king to uſe him ſo roughly, that he deſired leave to retire to Rome. William at firſt denied his requeſt, but at laſt, being glad to get rid of him gave his conſent; but in order to give him a ſenſible mortification, ſent an officer to ſearch his baggage, and ſeize all his money on pretence that it was againſt the law to carry the coin out of the kingdom.

After Anſelm's departure the king ſeized the temporalities of his ſee, and enjoyed them as long as he lived. The exaſperated prelate during his ſtay at Rome made prodigious clamours againſt William, with a view to ſtir up the pope againſt him, but finding that Urban diſregarded his remonſtrances retired to a monaſtery, where he remained till the king's death.

Urban's attention was too much engroſſed with the execution of the cruſade, to intereſt himſelf in ſuch petty diſputes. This ſcheme was ſet on foot with an intention to wreſt the holy land from the hands of the Saracens. The author of this romantic project was one Coucoupetre or Cucupietre, a frantic friar, a native of Picardy, and generally known by the name of Peter the Hermit. The pope, inflamed by his diſcourſes had adopted his ſcheme, and in the year 1094 had declared it to thirty thouſand

perſons, aſſembled in the open fields near Placentia for that purpoſe. In the year 1095 Urban made a ſecond declaration in a council at Clermont in Auvergne, and made a ſermon on the occaſion, in which he expatiated on the expediency and meritoriouſneſs of the undertaking. But that which had the greateſt effect on his auditors was the promiſe he made them of remiſſion of their ſins, and of opening the gates of heaven to ſuch as ſhould die in the attempt. A prodigious number of princes were inſtigated by this proffer to embark in the undertaking, and aſſumed the badge of the cruſaders which was a red croſs, ſewed or embroidered on their cloaths and worn on the right ſhoulder. Robert, the king's brother glowed with the ambition of diſtinguiſhing himſelf among the reſt in an expedition which engroſſed the attention of all Europe. But as his finances were too low to defray the expences of this armament, he mortgaged his duchy to his brother William for ten thouſand marks.

Rufus gladly embraced the propoſal, but was at a loſs to raiſe the ſum demanded: his ſubjects were already exhauſted by his exactions, and were ſo much burthened with taxes, that he could not expect to raiſe the money

money that way. In his perplexity he reſolved to apply for a loan to the richeſt of his ſubjects, and his requeſt carrying with it the air of a command, was complied with, but not without reluctance. The eccleſiaſtics, under pretence of indigence, melted down the plate of their churches and monaſteries, and the great lords forced their tenants to furniſh them with aids upon the occaſion. The deficiencies were ſupplied by a tax of four ſhillings laid upon every hide of land throughout the kingdom, from which the eccleſiaſtics themſelves were not exempted.

William having thus raiſed the ſum demanded, went to Normandy to pay it into the hands of his brother, who ſet out on the cruſade, and was preſent at the taking of Nice, Antioch and Jeruſalem; in all which places he was diſtinguiſhed for his courage and conduct above all the princes that embarked in the expedition.

As ſoon as the duke was ſet out, William took poſſeſſion of Normandy, as mortgagee, and demanded Vexin François of Phillip, as an appurtenance of the duchy. Phillip's refuſal occaſioned a war between the two princes, which was carried on for the ſpace of a year, without any remarkable tranſaction.

The king, on his return from Normandy, resumed his operations against the Welch, with a determinate resolution to extirpate all the males of that nation. But the Welch betaking themselves to their mountains, he was obliged to desist from his undertaking, though he had been conducted through the secret passes by some deserters.

* A revolution happening at this time in Scotland, by the usurpation of Donald Bane, who had been driven out of the kingdom, William permitted Edgar Atheling to raise a body of forces to effect the restoration of his nephew Edgar. The English army having defeated the usurper's forces in a decisive battle, the young prince was placed on the throne of his ancestors by the unanimous consent of the Scottish nation.

William was hindered from heading his army against the Scots by a revolt in Normandy, which obliged him to revisit that that duchy, and lay siege to the capital of Le Maine.

During his absence the kingdom of Wales was exposed to a very great calamity by the treachery of one of the noblemen of that that nation. Owen ap Edwin, father-in-law to Griffith ap Conan, and Cadogan ap Blethyn,

* A. D. 1097.

Blethyn, kings of Wales, conceiving ſome diſguſt againſt thoſe princes, invited the earls of Shrewſbury and Cheſter into the country, which they ravaged with great barbarity, and forced the two kings to retire to Ireland for ſafety. Their departure leaving the kingdom expoſed, the earls penetrated into the Iſle of Angleſey, which they plundered with exceſſive cruelty.

In the midſt of their exceſſes, one Magnus, a Norwegian pirate, having made himſelf maſter of one of the Orkneys, came with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, and landing unexpectedly in Angleſey, defeated the Engliſh, killed the earl of Shrewſbury upon the ſpot, and carried off all the ſpoil that he and his party had taken.

The nation was at this time afflicted with a dearth, which was the more ſenſible on account of the heavy taxes with which the king loaded the people, purely to carry on magnificent buildings which might have been poſtponed to a more favourable opportunity.

He gave orders for the rebuilding London bridge, which had been carried away by an extraordinary inundation; for ſurrounding the tower with a ſtrong wall and rampart, and for erecting Weſtminſter-hall, which, though one of the largeſt in Europe, he affected

fected to deſpiſe on his return from Normandy, ſaying it was fit only for a petty bedchamber, and that he would have it pulled down *, in order to erect a more ſpacious one in its room.

During William's reſidence on the continent, he had endeavoured in vain to recover le Maine, which had been ſeized by Helie La Fleche, under pretence of ſome agreement ſubſiſting between him and Robert, which was made before his departure for the holy land. The Mançeaux declaring for La Fleche, guarded their paſſages in ſuch a manner that William, being unable to force them, was obliged to retire and leave the conduct of the war to Roger de Beleſme, who had the good fortune, ſoon after, to take Helie in an ambuſcade.

The king having gotten this great officer in his power, raiſed a great army of Bretons, Flemings, Burgundians, Normans, and Engliſh, with great hopes of reducing the province; but was oppoſed by Fulk Rechin, count of Anjou, who obliged him to retreat. The war being thus protracted beyond his expectation, the king was obliged to have recourſe

* This noble ſtructure is computed to be two hundred and ſeventy feet long, and ſeventy or ſeventy-four feet broad.

recourſe to his uſual expedient, which he always found more prevalent than arms, and by a large ſum of money bought a peace; by which he was reſtored to Le Maine, in conſideration of releaſing Helie and the priſoners he had taken. The town of Mans immediately opened its gates to William, and the nobility of Le Maine took the oath of allegiance.

Helie having been treated with great generoſity while he was William's priſoner, made him an offer of his ſervice; and the king was on the point of accepting his offer, had he not been diverted from it by Robert, count of Meulant, who was jealous of his merits. Helie, not a little piqued at the refuſal, with a noble freedom, told the king "that ſince he had refuſed his ſervices, he could not take it ill if he "ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to recover the poſſeſſions he had loſt." The king, with an equal degree of magnanimity, replied, "he was welcome to do his worſt;" and granted him a ſafe-conduct to La Fleche, which he immediately fortified.

* Helie watched the opportunity of William's return to England, to make good his menaces; and, in his abſence, being joined by the Manceaux, appeared with a conſiderable

* A.D. 1097.

derable body of troops before Le Mans, which place he made himſelf maſter of by the following ſtratagem. He tempted the garriſon to make a ſally, which falling into an ambuſh, and being routed, he entered into the city with the fugitives, and was received with loud acclamations by the inhabitants. The caſtle, and ſome of the forts, ſtill held out; and the garriſon found means to ſet fire to ſome houſes, by which the town was reduced to aſhes.

In this extremity, a courier was diſpatched by Robert de Beleſme, with an account of his condition; who, on his arrival, delivered his meſſage to William, as he was hunting in the new foreſt. As ſoon as the king had received the intelligence, he ordered the meſſenger to acquaint the beſieged, that he would be with them in eight days; and, turning his horſe's head, he called out to his attendants, ſaying, "Thoſe "that love me, will follow me:" and rode immediately to the ſea-ſide, where he found an old veſſel, on board which he embarked with his attendants. The air being cloudy, the ſea tempeſtuous, and the wind contrary, the maſter of the veſſel at firſt refuſed to put to ſea, till Rufus bid him weigh anchor, telling him, "that he never "had heard of a king's being drowned."

Next

Next morning he arrived at Barfleur, whence he posted to Bonneville, where he assembled his forces and marched to the * relief of the garrison in Le Mans.

Helie, on the news of William's approach, raised the siege, and, destroying the fortresses he had in the country, retired to Chateau au Loir. William investing Majol, in expectation of carrying it by storm, received such a blow with a stone, as almost deprived him of his life. This accident made him desist from his enterprize, and, having ravaged the country, he returned to England.

The crusaders having taken the city of Jerusalem about this time, and, intending to erect it into a kingdom, offered it to Robert

* This account is founded upon the credit of Wace's manuscript history; Hoveden and Malmesbury seem to confound it with the former expedition, in which Helie was taken prisoner. According to these authors, when Helie was brought before the king, he treated him with an air of triumph; which piqued the earl so much, that he could not forbear telling him "that he "had got the advantage of him by surprize; but if "he was at liberty again, he would soon let him see "what he could do, and convince him that it was not "so easy a matter to get the better of him a second "time." The king, startled at this reply, gave him his liberty; telling him at the same time, "he ex- "pected no return for the favour, and that he was "welcome to do his worst."

bert duke of Normandy, who declining that dignity, it was conferred on Godfrey, count de Bouillon, whose bravery contributed not a little towards its reduction. This instance of success encreased the rage of fighting against the infidels to so great a degree, that most of the princes in Europe engaged in the enterprize. Among others, William duke of Guienne burned with impatience to enter into the lists, resolving to carry with him a reinforcement of three thousand men. As such a body of forces could not be maintained by his own revenues, he had recourse to the same expedient as Robert, which was that of mortgaging his dominions. Rufus being applied to on this occasion, readily consented to advance him the money, on the same conditions as he had done to his brother.

Having raised the greatest part of the supply, he ordered a fleet and an army to be got ready, in order to take possession of his mortgage. While the preparations were making for his embarkation, the king diverted himself with hunting in the new forest, where he at last met with an accident that put an end to his ambition and his life at the same time.

It is reported, that the morning before this catastrophe, as he was taking horse, he was

was diſſuaded from following the chace by Fitz Hamon, on account of an odd dream a monk had told him that morning, which ſeemed to preſage his death. Rufus, who paid little regard to ſuperſtitious opinions, ſmiled at the ſimplicity of his attendant, and ordered him to give the monk a hundred ſhillings for his dream, ſaying, * "The poor fellow is a monk, "and like a true one has dreamt purely "to get ſomething: give him a hundred "ſhillings for his dream, that he may "not have dreamt for nothing."

The king took one Walter Tyrrell, a French knight, with him to the chace after

* The king's repartee on this occaſion ſeems to have been variouſly related: we have followed Matt. Paris on this occaſion, whoſe words are, "Mona-"chus eſt, et lucri cauſa monachiliter ſomniavit: da "ei centum ſolidos ne videatur inaniter ſomniaſſe." Matthew Paris is very copious on this ſubject, and while his hand was in, could not help giving us three or four dreams immediately ſucceeding one another; which breathe ſo much ſimplicity and bigotry, that the reader need not wonder at not finding them in this place. The learned writer of the manuſcript notes in the hiſtory of *Matth. Paris*, at the library belonging to *St. Paul's ſchool, London*, judiciouſly obſerves, that theſe dreams are related in a different manner by Giraldus Cambrenſis, who is not contented with frightening the king himſelf with a viſion the night preceding his cataſtrophe, but likewiſe out of his great generoſity, ſends another to terrify the prior of Dunſtaple.

dinner, on account of his being an excellent marksman. The knight kept close to the king all the afternoon, and had the keeping of a couple of arrows, which the king gave him with his own hands. Towards evening, finding that they had separated from the rest of the company, the king alighted to wait for their coming up; a stag coming by the king at this instant, he shot at it, wounded it but slightly, and went after it to see if it would drop. As the sun shone full in his face, he held up his hands before his eyes, and continued in that attitude looking at the wounded deer; when another passing by, Walter shot at it, but the arrow glancing from its back, or on a tree, pierced the king's heart, and killed him *. Tyrrell, the innocent, authour of his

* Though Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham, who wrote their histories within forty years after this accident, unanimously ascribe it to Walter Tyrrell: there want not authours of good credit, who affirm that he was entirely innocent of the fact. Dr. Brady barbarously endeavours to raise a suspicion, that Tyrrell killed the king designedly, in contradiction to all other historians. Sugerius, abbot of St. Denis, a cotemporary, and a companion of Tyrrell, furnishes us with a remarkable anecdote in his life of Louis the fat, which entirely exculpates his friend. "William Rufus's death," says our authour, "was "laid by some upon a noble person, named Walter "Tyrrell,

WILLIAM RUFUS Slain by
Sr. WALTER TYRREL.

Engravid for Rider's History of England.

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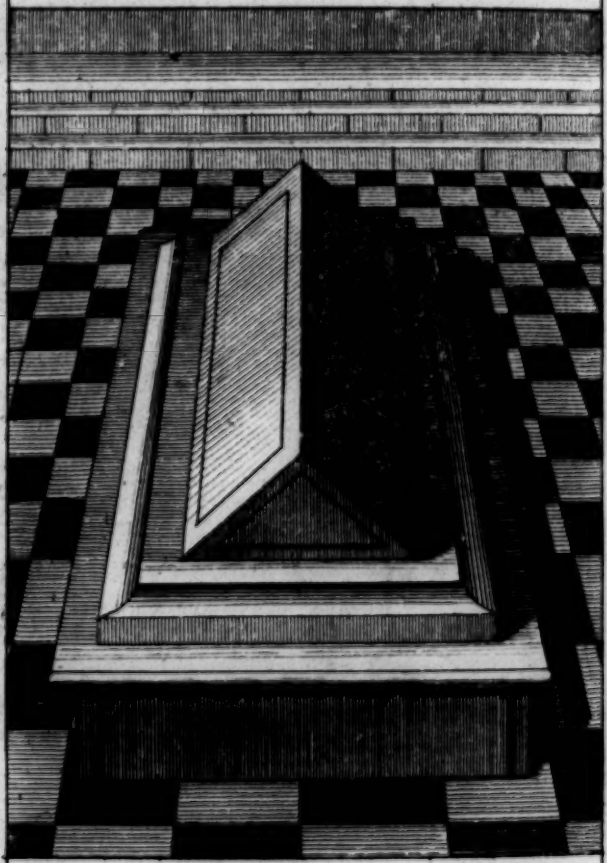
The Monument of William Rufus.



Engravid for Rider's History of England.

his death, being terrified at the accident, gallopped away to the ſea-ſide, where he found a veſſel, in which he was conveyed to the Continent, but died afterwards in his way to Jeruſalem.

William's corpſe being found by ſome countrymen as they were paſſing the foreſt, was put into a collier's cart, and carried to Wincheſter, where it was buried the next day in the cathedral, under the tower, without any funeral pomp; and what is ſtill more remarkable, without the lamentation of any of his ſubjects.

William was of a middle ſtature, but being thick ſet, looked to be rather ſhorter than he was. He obtained the ſurname of *Rufus* on account of the redneſs of his hair, or the floridneſs of his complexion; tho' he ſtammered very much, yet, when angry, he would talk much, and loud; though he was void of learning, he did not want for wit, which diſplayed itſelf in ſeveral repartees that are ſtill upon record. In his behaviour to kings he was haughty, imperious and inſolent; but at the ſame time

" Tyrrell, who they ſay ſhot him through with an " arrow; whereas we have often heard him affirm " upon oath, *That he neither came that day into that* " *part, or ſide of the foreſt, where the king hunted,* " NOR EVER SAW HIM THERE." *Hiſt. Franc.* Tom. iv. p. 283.

treated his courtiers with the greateſt affability, and would often condeſcend to jeſt with them in the moſt familiar manner. Though he was perpetually fleecing his ſubjects, yet it was not owing ſo much to avarice, as profuſion: generous to a fault; he loaded his ſoldiers with his kindneſſes, and never levied a tax without a view of beſtowing it upon them for their ſervices. When offended he was inexorable, and never let any perſon affront him with impunity. He affected grandeur in his retinue and buildings, and in his expences ſcorned every thing that did not ſuit the dignity of a king. His valet bringing him one day a pair of new hoſe, he asked the price of them; and being told that it was three ſhillings, he ſent him away with them, aſking him in a paſſion *, "Whether he thought they were "fit for a king? and ordering him to let "him have none that were not worth a "a mark." The valet, knowing how to pleaſe him, is ſaid to have returned with the very ſame pair that he had brought before, which the king paid him a mark for, and was very well ſatisfied with the bargain. If he had a regard for the dignity of his character, in this inſtance, we may produce

* This narrative depends on the authority of Robert of Glouceſter.

produce another which is as great an illuſtration of his diſintereſtedneſs, when he had a mind to exert it. A rich abby, becoming vacant, two prieſts made application to his majeſty for the inveſtiture, and began to bid againſt each other, thinking to obtain it by the weight of their purſes; but the king ſeeing a monk ſtanding at a diſtance, called him, and aſked him, What he would give for the vacant abby? he replied, that he had nothing to give; and if he had, his conſcience would not allow him to be guilty of ſo flagrant a ſimony. The king, pleaſed with his honeſty, and admiring his anſwer, immediately ſwore by St. Luke's face, his uſual oath, that he was the moſt honeſt of the three, and ſhould have it for nothing.

As Rufus had the misfortune to exaſperate the monks by ſeizing on their revenues, and appropriating the vacant ſees to his own uſe, we need not wonder that they ſhould have been induſtrious to blacken his character; though we muſt confeſs he did not want for faults. His behaviour towards the Engliſh manifeſts his ingratitude, and ſhews that he had no regard for his word or his oath. The manner in which he treated his brothers, is a ſtrong proof that he was void of fraternal affection. His treatment of

fifty old English gentry, whom he imprisoned under false pretences for killing his deer, shows that he was void both of justice and humanity. To sum up his character in a few words: he had every vice which rendered his father odious, without possessing a single virtue which compensated for his vices: had he been a private man, he would certainly have died upon a gallows; but being a bad prince, he is, in the words of a famous poet,

* "DAMN'D to everlasting fame."

HENRY I. surnamed BEAUCLERC. A. D. 1100.

HENRY, the youngest son of the conquerour, was in his youth educated with great strictness; and on account of his improvements, acquired the name of Beauclerc, which signifies a good scholar. Though the kingdom of England might have promised itself a great deal of happiness under his auspices; yet had Robert been in Normandy at his brother's decease, he would undoubtedly have succeeded to the English throne.

This

* POPE's *Essay on Man.*

HENRY I.

Engravd for Rider's History of England.

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His character, which was ſo contrary to that of their late ſovereign, would have biaſs'd the Engliſh ſtrongly in his favour: his claim by birth-right, and the ſtipulations between him and William, whereby the ſurvivour was to ſucceed, would have rendered any competition uſeleſs. Beſides this, the glory he had acquired in his late expedition at Paleſtine would infallibly have dazzled the eyes of the Engliſh, who are naturally fond of a warlike prince, and would have made them declare in his favour.

But Robert, conſiſtent with his general character, inſtead of returning home immediately after the reduction of Jeruſalem, ſuffered his lawrels to fade in his return; and lingering in Apulia, married Sybilla, daughter of William, count of Converſana. This celebrated lady, who had enamoured him by her perſonal charms, was the innocent cauſe of the duke's ruin; for while he indulged himſelf in the enjoyment of her perſon, he laviſhed away her fortune among his followers, and loſt an opportunity that never offered itſelf afterwards.

The Engliſh nation was divided on this occaſion, between affection and intereſt; and in the contraſt, the latter ſeems to have been predominant. Whilſt his mildneſs and generoſity ſtole upon their affections, his

indolence

indolence and profuſion created their fears. The great expence of his expedition had drained his coffers ſo much, that they were apprehenſive he wanted that which was eſſential to diſpute the crown with a powerful and opulent competitor. Should they have been bold enough to declare in his favour, they ſcarce knew where to find him; and if they did, they were ignorant whether he was either able or willing to proſecute his right. His abſence was a great advantage to his competitor, and at the ſame time a great diſadvantage to them, ſince it expoſed them to inevitable ruin, at the ſame time as it gave new ſtrength to his rival. On the other hand, Henry was a native of England, born after his father's acceſſion to the throne, a circumſtance which had great weight with ſome, who looked on Robert as a foreigner. The greateſt advantage which the latter prince had over his brother, as we have ſaid already, was that of being on the ſpot at the time of Rufus's deceaſe: and what was ſtill more, he had the wiſdom to avail himſelf of it.

Henry was hunting in the New Foreſt when he heard the news of his brother's death, and poſted immediately to Wincheſter to demand the keys of the royal treaſury of William de Breteuil, eldeſt ſon of William Fitz-

The Great Seal of Henry 1.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

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The Great Seal of Henry 1.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

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Fitzoſborne, formerly earl of Hereford. This nobleman had been hunting in a different part of the foreſt, and being informed of William's cataſtrophe, had haſtened home to take care of his charge. On Henry's application, he told him that neither the treaſure nor the ſceptre belonged to him; but that they were his brother's right, and that he would preſerve them for him, according to the oath he had taken.

This refuſal enraged Henry ſo highly, that it would have occaſioned bloodſhed, had not Robert, count of Meulant, and a great number of the late king's attendants come up in the interval, eſpouſed the cauſe of Henry, and obliged Breteuil to ſurrender the treaſury, with part of which they probably hoped to be rewarded for their ſervice.

Henry, thinking himſelf now maſter of the kingdom, began to exerciſe the authority of a king in giving the ring and paſtoral ſtaff of Wincheſter to Giffard, the king's chancellor, and ſet out for London with Meulant, and others of the nobility, attended by the univerſal acclamations of the people. The next day after his arrival, he was crowned by Maurice, biſhop of London, and took the * coronation oath, by which

* The ceremonial and form uſed at this prince's coronation, is ſtill preſerved in the Cottonian library, at the Britiſh muſeum, in an ancient manuſcript, numbered, *Claudius*, A iii N° 4.

which he engaged to observe the same articles as Ethelred had done at his inauguration.

As the coronation oath had been violated by the late king, Henry was willing to give the nation the greatest security, by publishing a charter the same day, confirming the privileges of his subjects, and redressing the grievances under which they laboured.

By this deed, which was authenticated in the most solemn manner, and transcribed in copies dispersed all over the kingdom, he established the churches in all their immunities, and exempted them from the grievances, under which they groaned, during the reign of Rufus. He abolished the fines exacted from noblemen, for the livery of their lands; exempted their vassals from the same imposition, permitted the vassals of the crown to dispose of their children in marriage, according to their pleasure, unless it were to the king's enemies. Widows were indulged with the same privilege, without being obliged to pay for licences from the crown. The wardship of minors was granted to their nearest relations. The duty of moneyages, paid once in three years, was suppressed, in consideration of the king's preserving the value of the coin without

without variation. All fines, mulcts, and debts in the Exchequer, arising from vexatious suits, were remitted. Barons were allowed to bequeath their personal estates by will; and the division of the effects of persons dying intestate, was put under proper regulations. The security given by persons charged with felony or misdemeanours was mitigated. All murders, and other offences committed before the coronation, were pardoned. The lands possessed of the crown by knight's service were exempted from gelds, talliages, and benevolence. The laws of king Edward were revived and enforced; and all depredation and rapine was forgiven on condition, that the perpetratours made immediate satisfaction and restitution.

In pursuance of this laudable scheme, Henry banished from his court all the instruments of his brother's debauchery and lawless power. Besides, he published a severe decree against delinquents and adulterers, denouncing the most rigorous penalties against such offenders, and death itself against such as are very guilty of peculation. He abolished the curfew, which they could not but consider as the badge of their slavery.

To convince the nation of his sincerity, he deprived Ralph Flambard of the see of Durham

Durham, and impriſoned him in the Tower of London, allowing him, during his confinement, two ſhillings a day for his ſupport; which was the uſual allowance of ſtate priſoners. No meaſure could have rendered him more popular than the confinement of this prelate, who was looked upon as the inſtrument of all the exactions with which the nation was burthened.

As the citizens of London were particularly ſerviceable to him in the acquiſition of the crown, he granted them a * new charter, containing very ample privileges, which deſerve a particular deſcription. "He granted to them and their heirs, the farm of "Middleſex at three pounds a year, and "the power of chooſing one of their own "body, whomſoever they pleaſed, as well "for ſheriff as for their juſticiary, to hold "pleas of the crown, within the walls of "this city; all other juſticiaries being expreſsly prohibited from exerciſing any "authority over the citizens, or forcing "them to plead without the walls of the "city, in any caſe whatſoever. The citi-

"zens

* This is ſtill preſerved under the ſeal in the archives of Guildhall, recited by *inſpeximus*, and confirmed by the charters of ſeveral ſucceeding kings, particularly Charles II, and publiſhed by Sir Roger Twyſden, in his additions to Lombard's Archaionomia.

"zens were likewiſe exempted from ſcot, "danegelt, trials by combat lodging the "king's retinue, and the pecuniary mulcts "for murder, to which other towns as well "as hundreds were ſubject. Beſides which, "both the citizens and their goods were "declared free from toll, paſſage, laſtage, "and all other cuſtoms throughout Eng-"land. No Londoner was to be fined or "amerced beyond his *were*, which was an "hundred ſhillings; and as to debts, the "citizens might recover them by ſuits "within the city, and make good their "titles to lands by city cuſtoms. The pri-"vileges of the court of huſtings, which "ſat every monday, as well as thoſe of "their wardmotes and common halls, were "confirmed; together with their ancient "right of hunting in Middleſex, Surry, and "the Woodlands on the edge of Bucking-"hamſhire and Hertfordſhire, called the "Chiltren."

Another popular ſtep was the recalling of Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was in high eſteem, through the influence of the monks at this time diſſeminated all over the kingdom.

The arrival of this prelate had like to have unhinged all Henry's meaſures, had he not been a perſon who knew how to com-

port himself to the circumstances of things. When Anselm came to Salisbury, the king apologized for his not waiting for his presence before he was crowned, and demanded the accustomary homage from the prelate; which he absolutely refused, as inconsistent with the late canons made at Bari, wherein the clergy were forbid to receive investitures from laymen, or to do them homage.

The archbishop at the same time declared, "that if the king would submit to these "canons, they might live amicably toge-"ther; but otherwise, he did not see that "his stay could be of any signification; for "if the king insisted upon giving investi-"tures of sees and abbeys, as formerly, he "could neither communicate with him, "nor with those who were so promoted; "and he was resolved not to stay in Eng-"land, unless his majesty would resolve to "obey the Roman pontiff."

Though Henry was somewhat shocked at Anselm's proposal, he knew it was not his interest to give him a denial; but as a compliance would have robbed him of one half of his prerogative, he thought it would be most eligible to gain time, and submit the determination of so intricate an affair to his holiness. As Anselm was to be restored to

his

his ſee in the interval, he conſented to the propoſal, and a truce was agreed upon, till the deputies, which were ſent, could obtain an anſwer from the pope.

The friendſhip of Anſelm was at this time uſeful, if not neceſſary, to the king in another political ſtep, which he had in view for attaching the Engliſh more ſtrongly to his intereſt.

As his character was very low on account of his promiſcuous amours, Henry was willing at this time to retrieve it by entering into marriage; the perſon whom he had in his eye was Maude, daughter of Malcolm III. by Margaret, the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling. But as this princeſs had worn the veil, though not a profeſſed nun, it was neceſſary to have the approbation of Anſelm, for fear the conſummation of the match might be looked upon as a violation of the rights of religious houſes, and give offence to the whole nation.

Anſelm, in order to determine this affair to the ſatisfaction of the king as well as the nation, aſſembled a council at Lambeth, took cognizance of the affair in a judicial manner, and not only declared the princeſs free from any eccleſiaſtical impediments, but likewiſe performed the ceremony of her marriage, and the office of her coronation.

During theſe tranſactions, Robert returned to Normandy, and took poſſeſſion of his dominions, without any oppoſition. Tho' they had been mortgaged to the late king, Henry did not think it his intereſt to claim the ſucceſſion at this juncture. Robert, inſtead of thinking himſelf obliged to him for his forbearance, made no ſecret of his reſentment; but publickly declared, that he would take the firſt opportunity of aſſerting his rights to the throne of England. He was encouraged in this reſolution, by the invitation of the principal nobility of that kingdom; and the arrival of the biſhop of Durham, who had made his eſcape out of the tower, by letting himſelf down from the walls, with a rope brought him in a tub of water. The biſhop was received with great reſpect by Robert, and entruſted with the management of his intended expedition againſt England.

Henry, apprized of the biſhop's eſcape, had fitted out a ſquadron to intercept his paſſage; but moſt of the ſeamen mutinied, and carried over their ſhips to Robert.

Several Norman noblemen declared for Robert, and a conſiderable party being formed among the Engliſh, he began to make preparations for invading England. Henry perceiving that his ſubjects fluctuated in

in their inclinations between him and his brother, notwithſtanding the popular meaſures he had taken, fled for advice to Anſelm. The archbiſhop, confident that he would make good his promiſes relating to the church, convened the principal noblemen of the kingdom, and expatiated in ſuch a manner upon the calamities of war, and the ſincerity of Henry's intentions, that they ſeemed entirely ſatisfied. But yet, when it was known for certain that Robert was ready to embark, his eloquence loſt all its effect, and they declared for him.

This defection facilitated the duke's landing at Portſmouth, where he was received without oppoſition. He was immediately joined by the Engliſh, who aſſured him that the kingdom was well affected to his cauſe, and that Henry would ſoon be abandoned by the whole nation.

Henry had not been idle during the report of his brother's intentions, he aſſembled an army to oppoſe his landing, which was poſted at Pevenſey, on the coaſt of Suſſex; but as ſoon as he heard that Robert had made a deſcent at Portſmouth, he advanced immediately that way to intercept his march to London, and prevent his being joined by ſuch as were embarked in his intereſts.

* The two armies faced each other for ſeveral days without coming to action, Robert declining a battle on account of his not being joined by ſuch reinforcements as he had grounds to expect, and Henry from a jealouſy of the fidelity of his ſoldiers, whom he ſuſpected to be ſecretly in his brother's intereſt.

During this ſtate of inactivity Anſelm interpoſed his good offices, and procured an accommodation on the following conditions: "Robert was to reſign all claim to England "upon Henry's paying him three thouſand "marks a year, and giving up the Contantin, "with all that he poſſeſſed in Normandy, "excepting Danfront, which he could not "cede on account of the oath he had taken "to the inhabitants never to give it up. "The adherents of each party were to "have their lands or honours reſtored, "whether they lay in England or Normandy; if either of the princes died the ſurvivor was to accede to his dominions; "they were jointly to reſume their father's "demeſnes, to puniſh incendiaries, and "neither to encourage, protect or receive "each other's enemies." * This treaty being ratified and guarantied by twelve noblemen on each ſide, the princes diſbanded their

* A. D. 1100. † A. D. 1101.

their armies, and having lived together two months with the utmoſt harmony, Robert returned to his own dominions.

Henry, having eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne by this accommodation, could not, without reſentment remember thoſe by whom he had been brought into ſo great a peril, and though at firſt he executed the articles of the treaty ſo far as to ſuffer thoſe who had ſided with his brother to recover their eſtates, and had reſtored Ralph Flambard to his ſee of Durham, yet he was reſolved to puniſh every one of the principal perſons, who had declared againſt him, in order to prevent them as well as others, from making attempts to dethrone him a ſecond time. Hugh de Grentemeſnil, Robert de Pontefract and Robert de Mallet fell ſucceſſively the victims of his indignation, under various pretences.

Robert de Beleſme, earl of Arundel and Shrewſbury was particularly the object of his revenge, on account of his openly declaring that "he was an uſurper, and that "it was diſhonourable for the Normans, "as well as the Engliſh, to permit him "to enjoy the crown in prejudice of his "elder brother."

The End of the FIFTH VOLUME.

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